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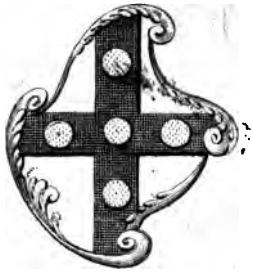

D. Stratton

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A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH,

FROM THE

FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE

TO THE

PRESENT TIME.

By JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL. D. F. R. S. &c.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

Nacus sum præteritos dies non solum graves, verum etiam tanto atrocius miseros, quanto longius a remedio veræ religionis alienos; ut merito hac scrutatione claruerit, regnasse mortem avidam sanguinis dum ignoratur religio quæ prohibuerit a sanguine; ista illucescente, illam constupuisse; illam concludi, cum ista jam prævalet; illam penitus nullam futuram, cum hæc sola regnabit.

OROSIUS.

NORTHUMBERLAND:— Printed for the Author,
By ANDREW KENNEDY.

1803.

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THE PREFACE

TO THE FOURTH AND LAST VOLUME.

TO the obſervations contained in the preface to the firſt volume of this work, I wiſh to add, at the concluſion of the whole, the following additional ones.

Tho' I call this a *General Hiſtory* of the chriſtian church, being intended only to preſent a view of what is moſt important, as moſt worth remembering, and reflecting upon, in it, there will be found interſperſed through the whole of it various particulars related more at large than the title would lead the reader to expect; but they are all of ſuch a nature as appeared to me to be calculated to give a more diſtinct idea of the ſentiments and ſpirit of the times to which they relate, than any more conciſe account; and a knowledge of theſe is what is of the moſt real value in all hiſtory, civil or eccleſiaſtical.

Alſo, beſides the particulars of this kind that are diſperſed through the body of the work, I have introduced four diſtinct ſections, in which I have

made the narrative ſtill more extended; but they have the ſame object with the particulars above mentioned. Theſe are the hiſtory of Jetzer at Bern, of the miracles aſcribed to St. Anthony, the ſufferings of Lewis Marolles, Le Fevre and Mauru, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes in France, and thoſe of ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Engliſh martyrs in the reign of queen Mary. The two former will give the reader a much clearer idea of the frauds and impoſitions that were formerly practiſed in the church of Rome, and the two latter of the great power of chriſtian principles in enabling men to bear all that their enemies could inflict, than any more conciſe relation. Being, however, in ſeparate ſections, they may be paſſed over by thoſe who wiſh to ſee nothing more than a general view of the tranſactions of thoſe times.

My deſign having been to write nothing more than a *general hiſtory* of the chriſtian church, I purpoſely omitted the mention of ſeveral ſects when thoſe belonging to them were not numerous, or when they ſeemed not likely to be of long continuance. This appearing to me to be the caſe with reſpect to the *Swedenborgians*, I have given no account of them in this work. That I may not, however, incur the cenſure of ſeveral very reſpectable members of this ſociety, I ſhall obſerve in this place

place that Emanuel Swedenborg, the ſounder of this denomination of chriſtians, was a native of Sweden, born A. D. 1689, an eminent metallurgiſt, who ſpent the latter years of his life chiefly in London and Amſterdam, and died A. D. 1772.

His inſpiration, he ſays, commenced in A. D. 1743, when he became acquainted with the *ſpiritual world*, the habitation of angels and the ſouls of men, but clothed in a peculiar body, that which we now have here not being intended to riſe again. It was according to him, in this ſpiritual world that the laſt judgment took place A. D. 1757, and that the ſpiritual kingdom of Chriſt commenced in A. D. 1770.

It was alſo, he ſays, ſupernaturally revealed to him how to interpret the ſcriptures in their proper ſpiritual ſenſe. He rejected the doctrine of predeſtination, and others aſcribed to Auſtin, and alſo the common doctrine of a trinity of three perſons in the godhead. But he maintained that there is a real trinity in the perſon of Jeſus Chriſt, who is at the ſame time Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, a trinity which commenced at his incarnation.

For a farther account of this extraordinary ſyſtem, I refer the reader to my *Letters to the members of the new Jeruſalem church*, as the followers of Swedenborg call theirs, which began to be formed

ſeveral years after his death, tho' it does not appear that he gave any directions about ſuch a thing.

As it is impoſſible to unite the two methods of writing hiſtory, viz. in the form of *annals* and according to the ſeparate *ſubjects* of which it conſiſts, and I have choſen the latter; to remedy, in ſome meaſure, the inconvenience attending a want of the former, I have added a *chronological table of the principal events in the order of time*, and alſo a view of the *ſucceſſion of ſovereigns*, in ſuch countries as will be found to be of the moſt importance in the hiſtory, viz. of the popes, the emperors of the Eaſt and Weſt, and the kings of France and England; and I have done it in ſuch a manner as that it may be ſeen at one view which of them were cotemporary, and how far they were ſo. I have alſo given a pretty copious *alphabetical index*.

The *errata*, it is hoped, will not be thought to exceed what is uſual in books printed with tolerable care. Liſts of the more important of them are printed, and thoſe for the two firſt volumes on ſeparate ſlips of paper, to be paſted in the moſt convenient places. If the purchaſers ſhould not find them, they are deſired to enquire for them of the publiſher.

Having now lived to complete this work, for which I am thankful to a kind providence, I ſhall immediately proceed to print my *Notes on all the books*

books of ſcripture; and if my impaired health will admit of it, and nothing unforeſeen happen, I hope that in about a year from this time this work will alſo be finiſhed. With reſpect to them both, I have done my endeavour not to diſappoint the expectation of thoſe generous friends who have enabled me to publiſh them. It is not long that I can now expect to live, but while I do I am happy to be employed in what I truſt will contribute to promote the cauſe of rational religion.

I ſhall ſubjoin the titles (with the editions that I have uſed) of a few more of the books that I have generally quoted by little more than the mere names of the writers.

Fox's acts and monuments of the church, three volumes, Folio, 1684.

Morelands hiſtory of the evangelical churches of the vallies of Piedmont, Folio, 1658.

Sleidan's General Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church, with a continuation by E. Bohun, Folio, 1689.

Geddes's Miſcellaneous Tracts, three Vols. octavo 1730.

————Church Hiſtory of Ethiopia 1696

————Hiſtory of the Church of Malabar, 1694

Hiſtoire du chriſtianiſme des Indes, par La Croze, two Vols. duodecimo, 1758.

Hiſtoire du chriſtianiſme d'Ethiopie et d'Armiuie, by the ſame, duodecimo, 1739.

Hiſtoire des Religieux de la Compaignie de Jeſus, two Vols. duodecimo, 1741.

Croſby's hiſtory of the Engliſh Baptiſts, four Vols. Octavo, 1738.

Neals Hiſtory of New England, two Vols. Octavo, 1720.

Memoires Chronologiques et dogmatiques, pour ſervir a l' hiſtoire eccleſiaſtique depuis 1600 jusques en 1716, four Vols. duodecimo, 1739.

Memoirs of the wars in the Cevennes by Col. Cavallier, Octavo, 1727.

Hiſtoire du Fanatiſme de notre tems par M. de Brueys, three Vols. duodecimo 1737.

It is poſſible that I may not have recollected all the books that I have quoted in the moſt conciſe manner, but it is probable that they (and indeed moſt of thoſe that I have mentioned) will be ſo well known to the generality of my readers, as to make a more particular account of them in a great meaſure unneceſſary.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

PERIOD XXIII.

FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT IN A. D. 1563, TO THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES, IN A. D. 1685.

SECTION I.

Of the Popes, and the general Character and State of the Catholic Church in this Period.

FROM the time of which we are now treating the perſonal characters and conduct of the popes are of much leſs conſequence with reſpect to throwing light on any thing in the hiſtory

of Chriſtianity than in the preceding periods; their influence on the affairs of Europe from the time of the reformation, which was ſo well eſtabliſhed as it was at the concluſion of the council of Trent, was diminiſhed at leaſt one half, and their revenues in proportion, tho' their ſpirit, and their pretenſions, continued as high as ever. It will be proper, however, to mention the more conſiderable of them, and the tranſactions that immediately reſpected them.

Pius IV, under whom the council of Trent was brought to a concluſion, was moſt ſenſibly mortified, and alarmed, by Maximilian II, when elected king of the Romans, refuſing to aſk of him the confirmation either of that title, or that of king of Hungary and Bohemia. This prince was, in reality, much inclined to proteſtantiſm, if not entirely proteſtant in his heart; and the defection of the emperor at that time would probably have been followed by that of the empire in general, and alſo that of other ſtates of Europe. It was not, therefore, without reaſon that the pope was alarmed at theſe ſymptoms of the little reſpect that he bore to the authority of the papal ſee. The pope, not being able to gain any thing by negociation, was content to confirm his election without being requeſted to do it.

The

The ſame emperor demanded of the pope the communion in both kinds, and the liberty of marrying for the prieſts of his ſubjects, and in this he was joined by the electors of the empire. But the pope, having now nothing to apprehend from the council, which was diſſolved, choſe to riſk the conſequences of refuſing this requeſt, the granting of which would have made the whole body of the clergy leſs dependant upon him, and more attached to their families and their country.

This pope propoſed an interview at Bayon between Philip II of Spain, and Charles IX of France, where the duke of Alva attended, the object of which, it is not doubted, was the extirmination of all the heretics in their dominions; a meaſure which both theſe princes did every thing in their power to carry into execution, both by treachery and violence of every kind. This pontiff, ſo zealous for the church, died, it was thought, of the effects of intemperance. His ſucceſſor, Pius V, diſtinguiſhed himſelf as much by his zeal againſt heretics, cauſing ſome of them to be ſent to Rome, where they were burned alive without mercy; and his orders with reſpect to Germany would probably have alienated the whole empire, if his legate had not ſhewn more diſcretion in the execution of them.

The characters of the popes in this period were no doubt, conſiderably ſuperior, both with reſpect to morality and literature, to thoſe in the preceding. This was, in a great meaſure, enforced by the reformation. But whatever might be the character of the popes in other reſpects, they were all zealous for the intereſt of their ſee, and ſpared nothing that artifice or force could accompliſh to ſtop the progreſs of the defection from it; and if poſſible to recover the countries which had revolted from their obedience.

Innocent X, who ſucceeded to the pontificate in A. D. 1644, was an exception to the general character given above, with reſpect to the decency of outward conduct, being notoriouſly indolent, profligate, and living in an illicit commerce with Olympia his brother's widow, a commerce which commenced before the death of her huſband. She was moreover, a woman of inſatiable avarice, and boundleſs ambition, and to her diſpoſal the pope left every thing. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 282.

The character of Innocent XI who was raiſed to the pontifical dignity in A. D. 1677, makes a great contraſt with that of his predeceſſor of the ſame name, being a man of the moſt auſtere morals, uncommon reſolution, and withall an enemy to the groſſer ſuperſtitions of his church. But his example ſhewed in a ſtriking light, that ſuch is the

the corruption which prevails in the ſyſtem, and ſo many are intereſted in the ſupport of it, that every ſerious attempt of a reformation will be fruſtrated.

In this period a great attempt was made to ſuppreſs the Proteſtant religion in Germany, and the neighbouring countries; and the bigotted princes of the houſe of Auſtria entered warmly into it, pretending that the treaty of Paſſau had been infringed by the Proteſtants. But force was in the firſt place employed in Bohemia, by an open perſecution of all who did not conform to the catholic religion, without any regard to the faith of treatreaties. On the death of the emperor Matthias the Bohemians oppoſed force to force, and made choice of Frederick V, the elector of Palatine, a Proteſtant prince, for their king. But the emperor Ferdinand II, aided by George the Lutheran elector of Saxony, intirely defeated them in A. D. 1620, and ſubjected them to a more rigorous perſecution than ever. Having ſucceeded with reſpect to the Bohemians, the emperor in the next place attacked the liberties of Germany, and in A. D. 1629 iſſued an edict by which the Proteſtants were required to reſtore to the church of Rome all the poſſeſſions they had acquired by the peace concluded in the preceding century. But his bigotry and ambition received a check from Guſta-

vus Adolphus king of Sweden, who, encouraged by the policy of the French, entered Germany in the ſame year; and tho' after ſeveral victories, he fell in the battle of Lutzen in A. D. 1632, the war was continued with ſo much ſucceſs, that at the peace of Weſtphalia in A. D. 1648 the liberties of the Proteſtants were better ſecured than ever, tho' nothing could be obtained in favour of the Bohemians.

In Hungary from A. D. 1671 to A. D. 1681, both the Lutherans and the Calviniſts were expoſed to great hardſhips, owing principally to the Jeſuits. The ſame treatment was experienced by the Proteſtants in Poland; and the Waldenſes, as will be ſhewn, were often perſecuted in the moſt inhuman manner by the duke of Savoy.

In Spain the clergy ſucceeded in prevailing upon the court to expel a prodigious number of Moors, who, tho' they had outwardly embraced chriſtianity, were ſuſpected of a leaning to Mahometaniſm; by which meaſure tho' the clergy gained, the country loſt a great number of its moſt induſtrious inhabitants. This was effected in a manner the moſt ſhocking to humanity in A. D. 1610. The numbers expelled are computed to have been not leſs than ſix hundred thouſand, beſides thoſe that were ſlain or detained in the country.

In

In A. D. 1618 the effects of this cruel and impolitic meaſure, were ſo ſenſibly felt, that in a memorial preſented to Philip III, it was ſaid, "the "depopulation of Spain is much greater than it "was ever ſeen or heard of before; it being a "truth ſo great at this time, that if God do not "provide ſuch a remedy for it as we may expect "from your majeſty's piety and wiſdom, the "crown of Spain is haſtening to its total ruin and "deſtruction; its houſes being every where in ru-"ins, and without any perſon to rebuild them; "and its towns and villages lie like ſo many de-"ſerts." *Geddes's Tracts*, Vol. 1, p. 163.

In Sixtus V, who got himſelf elected pope by the moſt profound and long continued diſſimulation in A. D. 1685, his zeal for catholiciſm was overpowered by ambition. He even rejoiced at the defeat of the Spaniſh Armada, expecting that the force of Spain would be thereby ſo weakened, that it might be in his power to conquer the kingdom of Naples, which was his great object. *Hiſtoire des Papes*, Vol. 5, p. 75.

In order to put a ſtop to the further progreſs of the reformation, the catholics employed the terrors of the inquiſition wherever it could be introduced, as in Italy, Spain and Portugal. They alſo prohibited the reading of the books of heretics, by publiſhing liſts of them, and preventing their circulation.

culation. With the ſame view alſo they encouraged literature among themſelves, holding out ample rewards for thoſe who ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves in the defence of their ſyſtem; and from this was derived great advantage to the cauſe of chriſtianity in general, many very valuable works having been produced by this means, and ſome which throw much light upon the ſcriptures, and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory.

Several advantages were derived from the reformation with reſpect to the catholic church itſelf. Notwithſtanding the oppoſition that was made to it by thoſe who were moſt devoted to the temporal intereſt of the popes, their avarice and ambition were much repreſſed by the abolition of reſervations, proviſions, exemptions, and expectatives, which we have ſeen to have been the ſource of much of the wealth and power of the court of Rome. This was chiefly effected by the council of Trent. The call for the reformation of ſuch abuſes as theſe was too general, and too loud, to be reſiſted. Alſo the behaviour of the clergy in general was much more decent after the reformation. Without ſome change in this reſpect, they could not have kept their ground againſt the reformers, whoſe morals were diſtinguiſhed for regularity. The ſuperior clergy, were, however, ſtill devoted to the purſuits of pleaſure and ambition, tho' with more

more circumſpection than before. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 334. Leo X revived the antient cuſtom of preaching in the church of Rome, but it was afterwards diſcontinued for five hundred years, when it was again revived by Pius V. *Bingham*, p. 639.

The monaſtic orders were much improved by the reformation. Before this period it appears from the writings of Eraſmus that ignorance, bigotry, and in many caſes groſs vices, were prevalent among them; whereas after this event we have heard of few complaints of the kind. From this time the monaſteries became more than ever places of retreat for perſons who really wiſhed to retire from the buſineſs of the world, or had no means of advancing themſelves in it; and the nunneries were places of education, and a proviſion for ſuch females of opulent families as could not be diſpoſed of to advantage by marriage. At the ſame time there were among them, no doubt, many examples of the moſt fervent, tho' miſtaken devotion. Indeed at no time were the monaſteries without many perſons of this character. Many new communities, on principles of the ſtricteſt diſcipline, were inſtituted, and ſome of the old ones were much reformed.

In this period the minds of both the catholics and the reformers were well exerciſed in diſputation, but without any remarkable advantage to ei-

ther party. The moſt diſtinguiſhed champion on the part of the catholics was Boſſuet biſhop of Meaux. He thought to have overturned the whole ſyſtem of his adverſaries by expoſing the variations in their doctrine and diſcipline. But it is remarkable that his own *Exposition of the catholic faith* was received by the members of his own communion in a very different manner. It was condemned by one pope and approved by another, applauded by the archbiſhop of Rheims, and cenſured by the univerſity of Louvain. It was condemned by the Sorbonne in A. D. 1671, and in the following century was declared by the ſame ſociety to be a true expoſition of the catholic faith. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 310. Many friends of peace in both communions endeavoured to compromiſe the differences, and promote an union of the two churchess, but they were all unſucceſsful.

The moſt remarkable of thoſe who deſerted the communion of the Proteſtants in this period were Chriſtiana queen of Sweden, Wolfgang William count Palatine of the Rhine, Chriſtian William marquis of Brandenberg, Erneſt prince of Heſſe, John Frederic duke of Brunſwick, and Frederic Auguſtus king of Poland. But theſe changes in the princes had no effect on their ſubjects. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 302.

The

The catholics obſerving the great advantage which the reformers derived from the interpretation of the ſcriptures, did every thing in their power to preveut it; but ſome of the methods to which they had recourſe were ſuch as did them conſiderable injury in the opinion of all ſerious chriſtians. The popes not only forbad the reading of the ſcriptures in any of the vulgar tongues, but alſo the interpretation of them by any public teacher in any other ſenſe than that which prevailed in the church; and it was common with the more zealous champions to maintain that the ſcriptures themſelves derived their authority from the church, and that the decrees of the popes, and even the records of oral traditions, were of ſuperior authority to them. *Ibid*, Vol. 4, p. 455.

There were among the catholics ſome learned and judicious commentators, but they were not long held in much eſteem. Their writers were in general of three kinds, the ſchoolmen from the former periods, the dogmatiſts, who reſolved all controverſies by the opinions of the fathers and the authority of the church, and the myſtics who made religion to conſiſt in contemplation and tranquility of mind, in oppoſition to the forms of external worſhip. Theſe, tho' they held the antient genuine maxims of the monks, were at this time regarded with a jealous eye by the zealous adherents of the

the church, but they were connived at while they made no public oppoſition to them.

One of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the catholic writers in the controverſy with the Proteſtants in this period, was Bellarmine a Jeſuit. Againſt him all the defenders of the reformation for a long time directed their attacks. But his fairneſs and candour in exhibiting the arguments of his opponents, gave them a great advantage, and on that account was not pleaſing to his friends.

In this period it began to be a prevailing opinion with the more moderete catholics, that the authority of the popes ought to be confined to ſpiritual matters, and their influence in the political world, which had been ſo great, was almoſt annihilated; the popiſh princes only availing themſelves of it when it anſwered their purpoſes. This ſufficiently appeared in the iſſue of ſeveral conteſts which the popes in this period had with ſome temporal powers in their obedience; the moſt remarkable of which was that which Paul V had with the Venetians on the ſubject of the immunities of the clergy.

This pope complained of their having reduced the number of religious houſes, and prohibited the alienation of immoveable property to the church without the leave of the civil power, and of judging eccleſiaſtical perſons in civil cauſes. Tho' the

the encroachment of the clergy in all theſe caſes had been ſo great as to weaken very eſſentially the reſources of the ſtate, the pope was excedingly offended at their conduct; and in the firſt year of his pontificate he ſent two briefs to his nuncio at Venice, one containing a revocation of their decrees relating to the acquiſition of property by the church, and the other ordering ſome eccleſiaſtical ſtate criminals to be ſent to the ſpiritual courts.

The ſenate treating theſe decrees with contempt, the pope iſſued a bull of excommunication againſt them, and in caſe they did not comply with his demands, by revoking all that they had done in twenty four days, he pronounced an interdict on their city and territory; forbidding all public worſhip in them, and threatning them with farther marks of his diſpleaſure if they ſhould ſtill perſiſt in their obſtinacy.

The publication of theſe bulls gave occaſion to many writings on both ſides. The perſon who diſtinguiſhed himſelf the moſt in the defence of the Venetians was Paul Sarpi, of the order of Servites, the celebrated author of the *Hiſtory of the Council of Trent*, and his great opponent was Baronius, the no leſs celebrated author of a voluminous eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. The Venetians, determined to maintain their rights, declared the pope's bull to be abuſive and null, nor was there a ſingle eccleſiaſtic

cleſiaſtic in all their ſtates that would publiſh it, or pay any regard to the interdict. The Capuchins and Jeſuits aſked leave to withdraw themſelves. To the former leave was granted, with liberty to return when they ſhould think proper, but the latter were ordered to depart without taking any of their property, and never to return again. *Hiſtoire des Papes*, Vol. 5, p. 141.

At firſt the pope made preparation to enforce his bull by arms, and was promiſed aſſiſtance from France and Spain; but it appearing that the real object of the Spaniſh court was to take advantage of the quarrel, and there appearing a proſpect of much difficulty in carrying on the war, the pope was prevailed upon to liſten to terms of reconciliation under the mediation of Henry IV king of France, and theſe were ſufficiently favourable to him. For the priſoners were delivered up to the church, the decrees againſt the apoſtolical cenſures were revoked, and all the poſſeſſions taken from the church were reſtored. They only refuſed to readmit the Jeſuits. Theſe terms being agreed to, the pope gave the Venetians his abſolution, and they ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to thank him, and aſſure him of their filial obedience. Ib.

We have ſeen that Clement VII, for fear of diſobliging the emperor Charles V, riſked the giving offence to Henry VIII of England. On the

the revolt of the Portugueſe from the dominion of Spain in A. D. 1641, Urban VIII, and alſo his ſucceſſor, declined giving the title of *king* to the duke of Braganza, or confirming the biſhops of his appointment, for fear of giving offence to the court of Spain. But the king of Portugal did not venture, or was not diſpoſed, to act the part of Henry. Dreading the power of the inquiſition, and the ſuperſtition of the people, he did not venture to break with the ſee of Rome, and in this ſtate things continued till the peace between the two countries in A. D. 1666. *Moſheim*, Vol, 4, p. 322.

Superſtitious as was Lewis XIV of France, his impatience of contradiction led him to brave the reſentment of the ſovereign pontiff at the ſame time that he was determined on ſubduing his Proteſtant ſubjects. The Corſican guards of Alexander VII having affronted the French ambaſſador in A. D. 1662, Lewis demanded ſatisfaction, and not obtaining it, he ordered his troops to march and beſiege the pope in Rome; and the pope found himſelf under the neceſſity in A. D. 1664 of pacifying this haughty monarch by the moſt mortifying conceſſions, eſpecially the erection of a pillar in Rome to preſerve the remembrance of it. *Ibid*, Vol. 4, p. 325.

In A. D. 1678 there aroſe a violent altercation between the ſame Lewis and Innocent XI, the moſt

moſt reſpectable, and the moſt reſolute, of all the popes in this period, about what is called in France the *right of regale*, by which the king claims the nomination of the biſhops, which had been allowed with reſpect to ſome, but not to all, to which the king was determined it ſhould extend; and notwithſtanding all the threats of the pope, and the iſſuing of his bulls, the publication of which the king prevented, he carried his point, and in an aſſembly of the biſhops at Paris in A. D. 1682, it was declared that the power of the popes was purely ſpiritual, and inferior to that of a general council; and this was agreed to by all the clergy and univerſities in the kingdom.

In A. D. 1687 this haughty prince had another conteſt with the ſame pope about the right of *aſylum*, which had been enjoyed by the ambaſſadors of the kings of France at Rome, but to which this pope was determined to put a ſtop; and he perſiſted in his purpoſe notwithſtanding all the threats of the king. After his death, the difference was in ſome meaſure compromiſed, the right of aſylum being given up with the king's conſent. Alſo the right of *regale* was ſettled with certain modifications, but not to the diſadvantage of the clergy of France. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 329.

SECTION

SECTION II.

Of the Foreign Miſſion for the Propagation of the Catholic Religion, and what was done by the Proteſtants to extend theirs.

THE catholic religion having loſt ſo much ground in Europe, the zeal of its friends was the more excited to extend its influence in foreign countries; and for ſome time their endeavours were not without a great appearance of ſucceſs; both with chriſtians of various denominations in the Eaſt, and in countries wholly heathen.

Various attempts were made to introduce the catholic religion among the Copts of Egypt, the Abyſſinians, the Armenians, and the Neſtorians in Aſia; and the Jeſuits were chiefly employed for this purpoſe. But they proceeded on different maxims according to circumſtances, and there were too evident marks of human policy in their conduct.

At firſt, when there were appearances of ſucceſs, they inſiſted upon the moſt rigid conformity in their new converts to all the doctrines and rites of the Romiſh church; but this being found to give too much offence, they afterwards generally went into the other extreme, tolerating every thing that was conſiſtent with the general councils, and an acknowledged ſubjection to the pope. An example of their extreme of haughtineſs and rigour we have in the behaviour of Menezez biſhop of Goa to the Neſtorians of Malabar, as is related in La Croze's excellent *Hiſtory of the Chriſtianity of the Indies*, and of the contrary conduct of the Jeſuits in China, where, at leaſt according to ſome of the more zealous catholics, their chriſtianity was little more than heatheniſm diſguiſed.

Gregory XIII founded and endowed twenty two colleges in different parts of chriſtendom for the inſtruction of young perſons, to qualify them for theſe foreign miſſions, and he ſent miſſionaries to Ethiopia, Africa, and Conſtantinople, at the ſame time that he neglected nothing nearer home. He maintained ſome nuncios in Germany, with a view to bring back the Proteſtants there into the pale of the church. He ſent ſixty four Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh Jeſuits into England, in addition to four hundred miſſionary monks who were there before, and they did every thing that men

of the greateſt addreſs could do to recover that kingdom to the holy ſee; but the greater part of them were diſcovered and baniſhed. *Hiſt. des papes* Vol. 5. p. 33. He likewiſe aſſiſted the kings of France and Spain with money for the extirpation of hereſy in France and the Low Countries, and to the emperor for ſupporting the catholic religion in Germany. Ib.

In A. D. 1622 Gregory XV founded a congregation of cardinals for the propagation of the faith, and its funds were greatly enlarged by Urban VIII; and to this, in A. D. 1627, the laſt mentioned pope added a college for the ſame purpoſe. By this means a vaſt number of miſſionaries were ſent into all parts of the world, and every thing was done to prepare them for their miſſions, and aſſiſt them in them. A ſimilar inſtitution was, in A. D. 1663, founded in France, called the *congregation of the prieſts of foreign miſſions*, and another called a *ſeminary* for thoſe miſſions.

From theſe inſtitutions a prodigious number of miſſionaries were ſent into all foreign countries, chiefly from the Jeſuits, Dominicans, Franciſcans, and Capuchins; and many perſons in almoſt all foreign countries were by this means brought to the profeſſion of the catholic faith. But the preachers of the different orders not agreeing among themſelves, and ſome of them accuſing others, eſ-

pecially the Jeſuits, of unfair practices in making proſelytes, as having in view the intereſt of their particular order, more than that of chriſtianity, allowing therein practices inconſiſtent with the chriſtian religion, and alſo involving themſelves in civil affairs and the cabals of courts, and even refuſing obedience to the orders of the popes when they did not approve of them, the great object of theſe pompous miſſions was almoſt wholly defeated. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 201.

The moſt diſtinguiſhed, and to appearance the moſt ſucceſsful of all theſe miſſionaries was Francis Xavier, of whom ſome account was given in the hiſtory of the Jeſuits in the former period. In A. D. 1541 he ſailed for the Portugueſe ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies, where he is ſaid to have preached with great effect both on the continent and in the iſlands. In A. D. 1549 he went to Japan, where he quickly laid the foundation of a flouriſhing church, which continued many years; but ſailing for China, he died before he reached the ſhore in A. D. 1552. Other members, however, of the ſame ſociety penetrated into that country, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed of them was Matthew Ricci, who by his knowledge of mathematics recommended himſelf to the emperor and the Chineſe nobility, ſo that he and his aſſociates had liberty to preach and make converts; in conſe-

quence

quence of which, notwithſtanding the expulſion of the Jeſuits afterwards, the church they founded ſubſiſts to this day.

The greateſt expectations were raiſed from the ſucceſſes of theſe miſſions in China during the reign of Xunchi, the firſt emperor of the Mogul race; but this king dying, and leaving a minor, his guardians perſecuted the Jeſuits in a cruel manner. However, when this emperor, whoſe name was Kanghi, aſſumed the government, they were reſtored to their former credit, and in A. D. 1692 an edict was iſſued, declaring the chriſtian religion to be no way detrimental to the intereſts of the monarchy; and in A. D. 1700 he directed a magnificent church to be built within the precincts of the palace. But the manner in which the Jeſuits conducted themſelves in this country was the occaſion of much controverſy, and frequent references to the court of Rome. They were more eſpecially charged with indulging their Chineſe converts in their former idolatrous rites, tho' they maintained that thoſe rites were of a civil, and not of a religious nature. Yet when they were hard puſhed, they had recourſe to the neceſſity they were under of conniving at the uſe of ſuch means, as nothing but the goodneſs of the end would juſtify. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 224.

Next to Xavier, the moſt celebrated of the Jeſuit miſſionaries was Robert di Nobile, an Italian. He had great ſucceſs in preaching the goſpel in Madura; but it was in conſequence of pretending to be a Bramin from the northern contries, deſcended, as their Bramins were ſaid to be, from the god Brama, and ſubmitting to all the auſterities of that order of men. But all theſe miſſions were ſuſpended and abandoned by pope Benedict XIV in A. D. 1744, who juſtly condemned all the artifices they had employed in the propagation of chriſtianity.

The converſion of Siam, Tonquin, and Cochinchina, was attempted by the Jeſuits, under the direction of Alexander of Rhodes, a native of Avignon; and in A. D. 1658 Alexander VII committed this new church to the conduct of ſome French prieſts of the congregation of foreign miſſions. But the Jeſuits refuſed to act with them, which was the occaſion of a long conteſt.

In A. D. 1667 a ſeminary for the inſtruction of youth was eſtabliſhed in Siam, and in A. D. 1684 Lewis XIV was encouraged to ſend a miſſion for the expreſs purpoſe of converting the king. This was favoured by his prime miniſter Conſtantine. But with great addreſs this prince declined complying with their wiſhes, tho' he gave the miſſionaries leave to propagate their religion among his

his ſubjects. But all the hopes that were conceived from this miſſion were blaſted by the murder of the king and his miniſter in A. D. 1688, when the miſſionaries returned home. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 217.

Such ſucceſs had the Jeſuits in propagating their chriſtianity in Japan, that in A. D. 1583 three ambaſſadors came with them to pay their obedience to the pope. *Hiſtoire des papes*, Vol. 5, p. 42. Their preaching in this country was favoured by the great ſimilarity between ſome of the rites of their antient religion and thoſe of the church of Rome, and alſo by their fondneſs for a commercial intercourſe with Europe, which the miſſionaries promoted. But here, as in China, the conduct of the Jeſuits was greatly cenſured by the other miſſionaries, as favouring of avarice and ambition. This occaſioned violent diſputes, as in other places, and on a ſuſpicion of a deſign formed againſt the government, of which information was given by the Dutch in A. D. 1615, the emperor ſuddenly iſſued an order for the utter extirpation of the chriſtian religion from his dominions; when many thouſands, and among them many of the miſſionaries, ſuffered death in the moſt heroic manner, rather than renounce their principles. This perſecution effected the intire extirpation of chriſtianity from Japan; and all the in-

tercourſe that any chriſtian nation is allowed to keep up with it from that time to this day, is confined to the Dutch, who ſend annually two ſhips with merchandize, but which are ſo ſtrictly watched, that no tranſactions beſides thoſe of a mercantile nature can take place between them and the natives. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 230.

In Africa the kings of Benin and Averri, and in A. D. 1652, the queen of Metamba, were by the labours of the Capuchin friars brought to the profeſsion of chriſtianity; but it does not appear that theſe converſions produced any permanent effect. *Ib.* p. 235.

The Portugueſe and Spaniards enforced the profeſſion of their religion in all their colonies in North America; but the principal agents in theſe conqueſts and converſions, which went hand in hand, diſgraced their religion by their cruelties and their avarice; and beyond the limits of their power their religion has not extended. The moſt ſucceſsful propagators of chriſtianity in America were the Jeſuits, eſpecially in Paraguay, where they civilized and chriſtianized a large diſtrict, from which with great jealouſy they excluded all other Europeans. But in this it is ſaid their principal object was the increaſe of their power and wealth, as they are ſaid to have remitted annually large ſums from that country to Europe. *Moſheim*, Vol.

Vol. 4, p. 237. This, however, appears to me from the perusal of the *Lettres Edifiantes* very improbable.

The zeal of the Jesuits carried them into Abyssinia, and in the beginning of the seventeenth century the affairs of that mission wore a very favourable aspect, the emperor Segued, who expected much assistance from the Portuguese troops, declaring himself openly in favour of the missionaries; and in A. D. 1606 he even took an oath of allegiance to the pope, and endeavoured to oblige all his subjects to follow his example. But Alphonso Mendez, whom he appointed patriarch of the Abyssinians, behaved in so rigid and arbitrary a manner, according to the spirit of the inquisition, using even violence to compel the people to abandon their former religion, to which they were strongly attached, and at the same time discovered such a disposition to encroach on the prerogatives of the crown, that in A. D. 1631 the same emperor annulled the orders he had before given in favour of the catholics, and gave his subjects leave to follow which of the two religions they chose. In the following reign of Basilides, in A. D. 1634, all the catholics were banished from his dominions, some of them were put to death, and the strictest attention has ever since been given to prevent any catholics from entering them. *Mosheim*, Vol. 4, p. 315.

The chriſtians of St. Thomas, after being reduced to ſubmiſſion to the Romiſh church, by the management of Menezes, who employed both art and force for the purpoſe, recovered their liberty, and drove all the Portugueſe from their country about ſixty years after; and the only cauſe of this revolution was the tyranny exerciſed by the Jeſuits over a ſimple people, and little diſpoſed to revolt, but attached to liberty and their religion. *La Croze Ind.* Vol. 2, p. 84.

At one time theſe chriſtians, not obtaining a biſhop from Rome, applied to their former patriarch at Moſul, to that of the Copts in Egypt, and that of the Jacobites in Syria; having leſs reſpect for opinons than their antient rites, which tho' different from thoſe of the church of Rome, are ſufficiently uniform in the Eaſt. *Ib.* Vol. 2, p. 115.

Bermudez ſays, the converſion of the Abyſſinians would have been eaſy; as there were not among them learned men who were haughty and obſtinate, but pious and humble, who were deſirous of ſerving God with much ſimplicity, and would eaſily embrace the truth, and give their attention to it. *La Croze Eth.* p. 261.

While the catholics had any proſpect of ſucceeding by the uſe of force, they did not ſcruple to aſſert the neceſſity and propriety of having recourſe to it. Fr. Xavier ſaid that no durable chriſtianity

chriſtianity was to be expected among the pagans, unleſs their auditors were within the reach of the muſket. *La Croze Ind.* Vol. 2, p. 375. Bermudez, the nominal patriarch of Ethiopia, writing to the General of the Jeſuits from Goa in A. D. 1566, ſays, there was one thing that he and all the fathers were agreed in, which was that, "nothing "but a good body of Portugueſe troops would be "able to reduce Ethiopia to the obedience of the Romiſh church. Writing to the pope in A. D. 1567, he ſays, "could he but have five or ſix hun-"dred ſtout muſketeers, he ſhould not only hope "to ſee Ethiopia quickly reduced, but would be "infallibly certain of it. With theſe troops he "would not only be able to convert all that em-"pire, but innumerable multitudes of heathens "alſo, into whoſe countries they might march "from thence without croſſing any ſea. Theſe hea-"thens being of ſeveral kinds of people, and not "much addicted to idolatry, might be converted "with great eaſe." *Geddes's Ethiopia*, p. 208.

The Jeſuit Ferdinand Guerriero, in his annual relation of the miſſions of the company, ſays, "The miſſionaries of the company labour no leſs "for the temporality than the ſpirituality. As "many heathens as they convert, ſo many vaſſals "they acquire for his majeſty. In the war which

"they

" they had, like true chriſtians, they join the Por-
" tugueſe, and become good ſoldiers." *La Croze's Chriſtianiſme d'Armenie*, p. 398.

Gonzales de Illaſcas ſays that, " if heretics
" were not burned in the early ages, it was that,
" beſides that the chriſtians had no power, the
" popes had not the ſupport of the ſecular prin-
" ces. But that now the faith being received and eſ-
" tabliſhed, the ſovereign pontiff has the power,
" and ought to exerciſe it. *La Croze's Eth.* p. 305.

But it appearing that the uſe of force had not in reality anſwered their great expectations from it, the catholic miſsionaries of a later period diſclaim every thing of the kind, and expreſs themſelves as the primitive chriſtians and the ſuffering Proteſtants would have done.

One of their writers, in the *Lettres Edifiantes* vol. 3, p. 419, after mentioning Preſter John of Aſia ſays, " This conquering prieſt had not learn-
" ed of Jeſus Chriſt, but of Mahomet, this ſtrange
" manner of converting infidels. The church is
" eſtabliſhed, and extends itſelf, by other means.
" A ſlave converted the Ethiopians, one captive
" the Iberians, and another the Armenians. Thoſe
" perſons whom God choſe, tho' mean in their ap-
" pearance, were reſpected for their virtue, and thus
" procured reſpect for the goſpel which inſpired
" it.

"it. Do we not ſee apoſtolic men" (meaning the miſsionaries) "following the apoſtles thro' croſſes, "as poor as they were, and triumphing as they "did over the pride, the voluptuouſneſs, and the "prejudices, of their enemies? They are in want "of every thing, and yet perform what all the "power of the world could not do. They gain "hearts, and bring them into ſubjection to the "goſpel of Chriſt. The fields which they have "watered with their ſweat are often not fertile till "they have been watered with their blood. It is "thus that the chriſtian church has, in all ages, "cauſed the croſs of the ſaviour to be adored by "ſo many nations."

The ſame writer ſays concerning one of the miſsionaries, "His courage was always ſuperior to "the contradictions that he met with. Nothing "could diſcourage him when the glory of God "was concerned, neither dangers, perſecutions, "threatnings, labours, fatigues, travels, or ſickneſs. "He was ſingularly qualified to have to do with "perſons of condition, but he ſaid that he gained "more by preaching to the little than to the "great," p. 432. Nothing can be more edifying than the ſpirit with which this work is written.

The Proteſtants made ſome attempts tho' not equal to thoſe of the catholics to extend the knowledge

knowledge of a purer chriſtianity into the countries to which they had acceſs. In A. D. 1647, a ſociety was eſtabliſhed for the *propagation of the goſpel in foreign parts* by an act of the Engliſh parliament. Farther encouragement was given to it in a later period, and for ſome time it was of conſiderable uſe in promoting the converſion of the natives of North America; tho' what was done in this way was chiefly effected by the voluntary zeal and labours of thoſe puritans, who fled from the perſecution of the Stuarts to ſettle in that country. Among thoſe miſſionaries Mayhew, Sheppard, and Elliot greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves. The laſt mentioned of them tranſlated the bible into the Indian language, and on account of his peculiar zeal in the cauſe, was commonly called the apoſtle of the Indians.

But the labours of the ſociety ſupported by the members of the church of England, ended in little more than ſome unſucceſsful attempts to bring back the puritans in North America to the church of England; and the Indians that were converted and civilized ſoon dwindled away, and are now nearly extinct. *Moſheim* Vol. 4, p. 23.

The Hollanders did not neglect the progagation of the goſpel in the Eaſt Indies when they got an eſtabliſhment there, and it is ſaid with ſome ſucceſs.

ſucceſs. But with them, as with the Engliſh, avarice and ambition too generally prevailed over their zeal for religion. *Ib.* 234.

The Lutherans made ſome attempts to enlighten the Abyſsinians in this period; and for this purpoſe Heyling of Lubeck undertook a voyage to that country in A. D. 1634, and even became prime miniſter to the emperor. But nothing is ſaid of his ſucceſs as a miſsionary, and he died on his return to Europe. John Michael Wanſleb, a native of Erfurt, was alſo ſent by Erneſt duke of Saxe Gotha in A. D. 1663; but he embezled the money he received for that purpoſe, and went no farther than Egypt. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 411.

SECTION

SECTION III.

Of the Controverſies in the Church of Rome.

NOTWITHSTANDING the authoratative deciſions of the council of Trent, and occaſionally that of the popes, the catholics were far from holding the ſame opinions. Various differences among themſelves were openly avowed, and the controverſies were conducted with as much acrimony as thoſe between them and the Proteſtants. The popes, for fear of exaſperating any of the contending parties ſeldom ventured to interpoſe their authority, chuſing to leave the queſtions undecided, and in this ſtate ſeveral of them remain to this day.

One great difference of opinion among the catholics reſpects the power of the pope; ſome maintaining it to be abſolute, and ſaying that that of the biſhops was delegated from him to them, a doctrine advanced in a former period, and ſupported by the Jeſuits in this. With reſpect to the doctrines of original ſin, grace, and predeſtination, the

the catholics differed as much among themſelves as the Proteſtants; the Jeſuits always leaning to the more liberal, and their adverſaries to the more rigorous, interpretation of the language of ſcripture, and that of the Fathers on theſe articles.

The Jeſuits maintained ſeveral opinions on the ſubject of morals, at which the minds of many of the beſt diſpoſed catholics greatly revolted, as that "it was a matter of indifference from what "motive men obeyed the laws of God; that the "operation of the ſacraments is independent of "the diſpoſition of mind with which they are re-"ceived; that there is no ſin but in the tranſgreſ-"ſion of a law, not only known to, and fully un-"derſtood by, the perſon, but preſent to his mind "at the time; that a man may lawfully do what "has been thought to be innocent by any one "doctor of reputation, tho' in the opinion of o-"thers, and of his own, it ſhould appear unlaw-"ful." Some of theſe maxims were condemned in A. D. 1659 by Alexander VII, and in A. D. 1690 the article concerning *philoſophical ſin* (or that of an action repugnant to the dictates of reaſon, and yet not offenſive to the deity) met with the ſame fate in the pontificate of Alexander VIII. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 358. But all thoſe doctrines were expoſed in a vein of exquiſite hu-

mour by Paſcal in his *Provincial Letters*, a work which materially affected the credit of the order.

The great defender of the doctrines of Auſtin, or thoſe which are generally conſidered as his, on the ſubjects of grace and predeſtination, was M. Baius, a doctor in the univerſity of Louvain. This drew upon him the cenſures of ſome Franciſcan monks, as well as of the Jeſuits; and in A. D. 1567 an accuſation was brought againſt him in the court of Rome, and ſeventy ſix propoſitions extracted from his writings were condemned by Pius V, but without naming the author; ſo that nothing was done that affected himſelf or his functions. The ſentence of Pius was enforced by Gregory XIII; but no regard was paid to thoſe decrees by the admirers of Baius; and in a later period the Janſeniſts, who went upon the ſame ground, maintained that they are of no authority, and have never been received as laws of the church. The more prudent Sixtus V aſſerted the authority of the pope to decide all ſuch queſtions, but he never made uſe of it. He contented himſelf with forbidding all controverſy on the ſubject; leaving all perſons in poſſeſſion of their own opinions, and thoſe of Baius were very prevalent. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4. p. 474.

This ceſſation of hoſtilities was not of long continuance,

continuance, being interrupted in A. D. 1588 by the writings of D. Molina, a Spaniſh Jeſuit, a profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of Evora in Portugal, who introduced a new kind of hypotheſis to reconcile the jarring opinions on theſe ſubjects. This gave great offence to the Dominicans, who ſaid that he was endeavouring to revive the errors of Pelagius; and Clement VIII thought proper in A. D. 1594 to impoſe ſilence on the contending parties; ſaying that he would himſelf examine the grounds of the controverſy. *Hiſtoire des Papes*, Vol. 5, p. 476. Accordingly he referred the diſcuſſion to a ſelect body of learned divines. But, which ſeems to have given him no ſmall degree of uneaſineſs, theſe divines were of opinion that the doctrine of the Dominicans was more agreeable to the ſcriptures and the antient fathers, and that thoſe of Molina favoured of Pelagianiſm. On this the pope ſeemed reſolved in A. D. 1601 to decide againſt the Jeſuits. But this artful body of men alarmed him ſo much with their repreſentation of the conſequences of ſuch a deciſion, that the next year he conſented to re-examine the queſtion, and decide it himſelf; and for this purpoſe he appointed a council, conſiſting of fifteen cardinals, nine profeſſors of divinity, and five biſhops, which during the ſpace of

three years held eight congregations; but the pope died before he gave the final ſentence.

Theſe congregations were reſumed by Paul V in A. D. 1605, and after much debating, chiefly about the propriety of deciding the queſtion at all, and the manner of doing it, it was agreed that the whole controverſy ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and each party be allowed to retain their opinions. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 364. The pope was afraid of offending the king of France, who protected the Jeſuits, or the king of Spain, who favoured the Dominicans. So much was there of human policy, and ſo little regard to truth, in the conduct of the papal chair.

This controverſy, which was thus huſhed up, was revived in A. D. 1640 on the publication of a poſthumous work of Cornelius Janſenius, biſhop of Ypres, called *Auguſtinus*, in which the doctrine of Auſtin concerning the natural corruption of man, and the nature and efficacy of divine grace, was largely inſiſted on, but expreſſed chiefly in the words of Auſtin himſelf. By the efforts of the Jeſuits, whoſe doctrines were evidently ſtruck at in this work, the Roman inquiſitor in A. D. 1641 forbad the peruſal of it, and the year following Urban VIII condemned it by a ſolemn bull, as infected with ſeveral errors. *Ib.* p. 368.

This did not ſilence the admirers of Janſenius who were numerous in Flanders, and alſo in France,

France, where they were patronized by the abbot of St. Cyran, John de Verger de Herrane, a man of eminent learning and piety, and alſo by Armande, Nicole, Paſcal, Quenel, and others, generally denominated the authors of the *Port Royal*, and alſo by many others in the church of Rome, who thought that vital religion was of more conſequence than the obſervance of the external rites of the church, on which the bigotted and ignorant catholics always laid the greateſt ſtreſs.

Theſe writers were ſo popular, that they would have triumphed over their adverſaries, if they had not been ſupported by ſovereign princes, as well as popes, who thought the authority and ſtability of the church to be endangered by them. Many of the Janſeniſts being much inclined to ſuperſtition, laid great ſtreſs on certain miracles, which they ſaid were wrought in their favour; and as the credit of ſome of them declined, others were advanced, and the laſt of all theſe were thoſe ſaid to have been wrought at the tomb of the abbé Paris in A. D. 1731; for the controverſy was continued far beyond the period of which I am now treating.

In conſequence of the efforts of the Jeſuits, Innocent X, in A. D. 1653, condemned by a public bull five propoſitions extracted from the work Janſenius, notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous endea-

vours of many of the French clergy to prevent it. On this the Janſeniſts, who profeſſed the greateſt devotion to the holy ſee, acknowledged that the propoſitions condemned in the bull were juſtly cenſured; but they ſaid that it was not declared that they were contained in the work of Janſenius, in the ſame ſenſe in which they were condemned. But Alexander VII in A. D. 1656, in another bull, declared that the five propoſitions were the tenets of Janſenius, and contained in his book, and in A. D. 1665 he proceeded ſo far as to ſend into France the form of a declaration to be ſubſcribed by all the clergy, in which it was ſaid that the five propoſitions were contained in the book of Janſenius, and in the ſenſe in which they had been condemned.

Even this did not wholly ſilence the Janſeniſts; for they maintained that, with reſpect to matters of *fact*, the popes were fallible, eſpecially when their deciſions were not confirmed by a general council; whereas the Jeſuits held that the popes were infallible with reſpect to matters of fact, as well as of *doctrine*; and they carried their violence ſo far as to procure the impriſonment, or exile, of ſome who declined ſigning the declaration required. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 376.

But Clement IX was ſo much ſtaggered by the reſolute oppoſition of a great number of moſt reſpectable

reſpectable biſhops, who refuſed to ſubſcribe the declaration without their own explications and diſtinctions, and they were ſo powerfully ſeconded by the dutcheſs of Longueville, who had gained great credit by renouncing the pleaſures of the world, and who eſpouſed with great zeal the cauſe of Janſeniſm, that he thought proper to accept of their declarations on their own terms; on which the Janſeniſts triumphed again, and enjoyed their former tranquility. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 376. This was called the *Peace of Clement*, and took place in A. D. 1669.

It was not, however, of long continuance; for in A. D. 1676 Lewis XIV, at the inſtigation of the Jeſuits, declared that the indulgence was only granted for a time; and the dutcheſs of Longueville dying in A. D. 1679, the Janſeniſts, deprived of all external ſupport, were perſecuted anew; when ſome, to avoid the ſtorm, abandoned their country; and among them Anthony Arnaud fled to Holland, where he exerted himſelf ſo much by his writings, that the greater part of the churches in the Netherlands embraced his opinions, and the catholic congregations in Holland were intirely gained over by him; and being ſecure in the protection of the government, they made no account of the threats of the Roman pontiff.

What offended the bigotted catholics the moſt in the Janſeniſts, was their never ceaſing call for the reformation of abuſes in the church, in diſcipline, worſhip, and even doctrine, which they ſaid retained no traces of its priſtine purity. They ſaid that the people ought to be more carefully inſtructed, that the ſcriptures, and the public liturgy, ought to be in the vulgar tongues. They maintained that true piety does not conſiſt in the obſervance of rites and ceremonies, but in inward holineſs.

The piety of the Janſeniſts had, however, in it much ſuperſtition, and led to ſelf mortification. They even celebrated thoſe who put an end to their lives by voluntary auſterities; ſaying they were the *ſacred victims of repentance*, and that they were conſumed with the fire of divine love. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 382. They alſo pretended to a kind of inſpiration; ſaying that the minds of the truly pious had a proper reſidence in the deity, and that they were his inſtruments; ſo that they might follow, without conſulting their judgment, the firſt impulſes of their minds when they were duly compoſed, and abſorbed in devout contemplation.

Some of the moſt eminent of the Janſeniſts were ſlaves to the moſt ridiculous ſuperſtition. When the abbot of St. Cyran thought it neceſſary to read the books of ſome of the heretics, in order

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to confute them, he firſt, with great ſolemnity, marked them with the ſign of the croſs, in order to expel the evil ſpirit which he was perſuaded lurked in them. The celebrated Paſcal, whoſe elegant *Provincial Letters* gave ſo great a blow to the credit of the Jeſuits, made a merit of denying himſelf every pleaſurable ſenſation that he poſſibly could, even ſo far as to build a wall in order to ſhut out an agreeable proſpect which he had from the window of his ſtudy; and his ſiſter, who wrote his life, abſtained from drinking ſo long, that when, by the command of her ſuperior in the convent, (which ſhe held herſelf obliged to regard) ſhe conſented to take ſomething liquid, it was too late, and ſhe died of thriſt.

Such was the animoſity with which the controverſy between the Franciſcans and the Dominicans about the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary was carried on, about the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, eſpecially in Spain, that it endangered the peace of the country; and tho' the popes were continually urged to decide it, neither Paul V, Gregory XIV, nor Alexander VII, would venture to do it, awed on the one hand by the remonſtrances of the court of Spain, which favoured the Franciſcans, and reſtrained on the other by the great credit and influence of the Dominicans, who conducted the inquiſition in Spain.

At length, however, the pope did decide, but in this curious manner, viz. that the opinion of the Franciſcans in favour of the immaculate conception had a high degree of probability attending it; and forbidding the Dominicans to oppoſe it in public; and by another bull the Franciſcans were forbidden to treat the opinion of the Dominicans as erroneous. Notwithſtanding this Clement XI, in A. D 1708, ordered a feſtival to be celebrated in honour of the immaculate conception. But the Dominicans ſay that the obligation to celebrate it does not extend to them. They perſiſt in maintaining their opinion, and do ſo without cenſure. *Ib.* p. 387. Such is the boaſted unity of the catholic church, and the great utility of an infallable judge of controverſies.

An idea of the great merit of *contemplation*, by which it was ſuppoſed that the mind obtained a kind of union with God (an idea entertained by the Pythagoreans and later Platoniſts) was in very early times introduced into the chriſtian church. It was embraced by moſt of the monks, and had never diſturbed the peace of the church, tho' theſe *Myſtics*, as they were generally called, were known to lay more ſtreſs on inward acts of the mind than on any of the externals of devotion. But in this period a great diſturbance was occaſioned by a publication of Michael de Molinos, a Spaniſh

prieſt,

prieſt, reſiding at Rome, intitled *The Spiritual Guide*, and which had many admirers, who obtained the name of *Quietiſts*. They were violently oppoſed by the Jeſuits; and at the inſtigation of the French ambaſſador in A. D. 1685, Molinos was put in priſon. Two years after this he was ſentenced to abjure his errors, and ſuffer perpetual impriſonment; and to this, with great reſignation, he ſubmitted, and died in A. D. 1696. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4; p. 389.

Notwithſtanding this the doctrine of Molinos had many admirers in all parts of Europe. Among them was the cardinal Petrucci, a Barnabite friar, the ſpiritual director of madam Guyon, a woman of faſhion in France, and equally remarkable for her underſtanding and her piety; who gave into the ſame ſyſtem, and eſpecially Fenelon archbiſhop of Cambray, the celebrated author of *Telemachus*. The writings of madam Guyon made much noiſe about the year A. D. 1687, and Boſſuet wrote in confutation of them. They were defended by Fenelon; but by means of the intrigues of his adverſaries, Innocent XII, in A. D. 1699, publiſhed a bull in condemnation of his book; and this he had the magnanimity, or as ſome thought, the weakneſs, to read from his own pulpit, and exhort his audience to acquieſce in, tho'

tho' it was never ſuppoſed to have produced any change in his own ſentiments. *Ib.* p. 392.

In A. D. 1671 Paſquier Quenel a prieſt of the oratory publiſhed an edition of the New Teſtament with pious meditations and remarks, which gave great offence to many bigotted catholics, and was the occaſion of much controverſy. Clement XI, on his firſt reading it, ſaid it was an admirable book, that no perſon at Rome was capable of writing in that manner, and that he ſhould be glad if he could engage the author to reſide there; and yet this ſame pope afterwards publickly condemned this work, and employed all his authority to ſuppreſs it. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 361.

SECTION

SECTION IV.

Of the Religious Orders.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great number of religious orders which exiſted at the time of the reformation, and the prohibition to form any new ones, more new ones were erected, at leaſt old ones reformed, in the preſent period, than in any of the preceding. Many of them failed for want of a ſufficient ſupport; but ſeveral ſtood their ground, and ſome of them were exceedingly favourable to the intereſts of literature in general, ſacred and profane.

Of this claſs was that of the *Prieſts of the Oratory*, founded by Philip Neri, a native of Florence, and honoured with the protection of Gregory XIII in A. D. 1577. It had its denomination from the *oratory*, or cloſet for devotion, built by Neri for his own uſe. This order produced Baronius the author of the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, and other men of much eminence. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 457.

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Many of the antient monaſteries were in this period recovered from the ſhocking corruption of former times. The moſt conſiderable of theſe reformations was made by ſome learned and pious Benedictines, and the example was followed by ſeveral of the other orders.

The Chriſtian world is more particularly indebted to *the congregation of St. Maur*, founded by the expreſs direction of Gregory XV in A. D. 1620, and enriched by Urban VIII in A. D. 1627; as the members were encouraged to apply themſelves to literary purſuits of every kind, and furniſhed with the moſt ample means of proſecuting them. They even eclipſed the Jeſuits, and were their rivals and adverſaries. They fell, however, under the cenſure of the more rigid of the monks, for exchanging bodily for mental labour; but their writers were abundantly able to defend their conduct.

The auſterity of all the former orders was exceeded by that of Barthillier de Rancé, abbot of *La Trappe*, the moſt gloomy, barren, and deſolate place in the kingdom of France. His order was called that of the *reformed Bernardines*, and has ſeveral monaſteries in Spain and Italy. This gentleman had been diſtinguiſhed by an early application to literature, and alſo to pleaſure, but it is ſaid that he took this auſtere turn on a ſudden, from

from finding a lady to whom he had been much attached dead of the ſmall pox, when he went into her room, without having any previous knowledge of her illneſs. *Moſheim*, Vol, 4, p. 340.

Another order of great eminenee, which aroſe in this period, was that of the *Fathers of the oratory of the holy Jeſus*, inſtituted by cardinal Berulle in A. D. 1613. The prieſts who entered into it did not renounce their property, but they refuſed all eccleſiaſtical offices to which any fixed revenues or honours were annexed, and they were at liberty to retire whenever they thought proper. While they continued in it they were bound to perform with the greateſt punctuality all the prieſtly functions, and apply themſelves with zeal to prepare themſelves and others for the moſt perfect diſcharge of them. Originally, therefore, their convents were ſchools for divinity. But afterwards theſe fathers applied to the ſtudy of polite literature, as well as theology, and taught them with reputation, to the great offence of the Jeſuits. Ib. 340.

Similar to this commendable inſtitution was that of the *Prieſts of the miſſions*, founded by Vincent de Paul, and formed into a regular congregation by Urban VIII in A. D. 1632. By their rules they were to employ eight months in the year in the villages, inſtructing the common people in the principles of

of religion; and they were alſo to inſpect the ſeminaries in which perſons deſigned for holy orders were educated. *Ib.* p. 342.

The chriſtian and learned world is much indebted to thoſe Janſeniſts who are generally known by the title of *Meſsrs. de Port Royal,* from their paſſing their time in literary purſuits in the retreat of Port Royal, a manſion at a little diſtance from Paris. *Ib.* p. 350.

The moſt ſtriking example of ſeverity in this period was exhibited in a convent called *Port Royal in the fields,* the government of which was given by Henry IV to Jaqueline, a daughter of Anthony Arnaud, who after her converſion, as it was called, in A. D. 1609, aſſumed the name of Marie Angelique de la St. Madelaine, and conſecrated her days to ſpiritual exerciſes, in which ſhe was encouraged by Francois de Sales, and the abbot of St. Cyran, after whoſe example ſhe modelled her convent.

The virgins of this ſociety obſerved with the utmoſt rigour the antient diſcipline of the Ciſtericans, which had been almoſt every where deſerted; and ſuch was the fame of this inſtitution, that multitudes of pious perſons were deſirous of living in its neighbourhood, and many Janſeniſt penitents, or ſelf tormentors, of both ſexes, built huts within its precincts, where they adopted the manners

ners of the moſt gloomy fanatics. Their object was the ſame with that of the original monks, viz. by ſilence, hunger, thirſt, bodily labour, watching and every kind of ſelf denial, joined with prayer, and intenſe meditation, to remove the pollution of the ſoul, derived either from natural corruption, or evil habits.

Some of them, however, benefited the world by compoſing laborious writings, on various ſubjects of erudition; and among them was the juſtly famous Tillemont. But the far greater part of them exhauſted both their bodies and minds by the ſeverity of their exerciſes, and pined away by a ſlow kind of death; tho' many of them were perſons of illuſtrious birth, and ſome who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in civil and military employments. *Ib.* p. 385.

But the nuns of this convent obſtinately refuſing to ſubſcribe the declaration of Alexander VII, and the ſociety being conſidered as diſhonourable to ſome of the principal families in France, Lewis XIV, at the inſtigation of the Jeſuits, in A. D. 1709, ordered it to be demoliſhed, and the nuns to be removed to Paris; and even thoſe who had been buried there to be dug up, and buried elſewhere. *Moſheim* Vol. 4, p. 386.

The Jeſuits were in great credit in France in the reign of Lewis XIV, but they did not ſtand

high in the opinion of all the popes. Sixtus V was their great enemy. He was even reſolved to compel them to change their appellation, as too arrogant, and call themſelves *Ignatians*, from their founder, but he did not live to execute his threat. *Hiſtoire des Papes*, Vol. 4, p. 85. In A. D. 1694 the Jeſuits had increaſed ſo much, in fifty three years in France, that they poſſeſſed two hundred and twenty eight houſes, and two millions of livres yearly rent. *Laval*, Vol. 5, p. 161.

SECTION V.

Of the Miracles aſcribed to St. Anthony.

AS my object in this work is to give a juſt view of the tranſactions and ſpirit of the times to which it relates, I have occaſionally recited inſtances of the groſs impoſition of ſome, and the exceſſive credulity of others, with reſpect to *miracles* aſcribed to perſons canonized by the popes, during the prevalence of the papal power. That ſuch impoſitions ſhould be attempted, and

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at all ſucceed, after the reformation, when ſo many of thoſe artifices had been expoſed, and ſenſible catholics themſelves had become aſhamed of them, is not a little extraordinary, and yet the hiſtory of the catholic church long after this æra, is not deſtitute of facts of this kind; and I think it may not be uninſtructive if I give one example of it in *the Life of St. Anthony of Padua*, which appears to have been written after the year A. D. 1617; this being the date of the laſt of the miracles aſcribed to him in this book.

This Life is ſaid to have been tranſlated into Engliſh from Italian, and it was printed at Paris in A D. 1660. It was, no doubt, read with pious credulity by the catholics of that day, tho it will be treated with juſt ridicule by moſt perſons at preſent. But it will excite more ſerious reflections in others on the wickedneſs of ſuch inventions; for leſs than this it cannot be. I am far from thinking that any catholic at this day is capable of ſuch an impoſition. They will join me in lamenting the vices and follies of the times that are paſſed, and will not diſapprove of ſuch accounts not being wholly conſigned to oblivion, but preſerved for the inſtruction of poſterity. For tho' moſt of my readers will have heard of *popiſh legends*, it is probable that few of them have the clear idea that this narrative will give of them.

The name of Anthony was originnally Ferrand, and he was born of honourable, as well as pious, parents at Liſbon in A. D. 1195. After going through his ſtudies with reputation, he, much againſt the wiſhes of his parents, entered into a monaſtery of canons regular of the order of St. Auſtin, and there he continued two years; when, for the ſake of greater ſolitude, he retired with the leave of his ſuperior to Coimbra, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his expoſition of the ſcriptures.

At this time St. Francis was living, and ſome of his order having ſuffered martyrdom in conſequence of undertaking to preach to the Mahometans in Africa, they were ſo much celebrated on that account, that it excited in Ferrand, as well as many others, an ardent deſire to follow their example, tho' they ſhould ſhare the ſame fate. With the leave of his ſuperiors, he therefore joined this new ſociety; and entering one of their monaſteries, called that *of St. Anthony*, he took their habit, and aſſumed their name.

Preſently after this, his zeal actually carried him to Africa; but he was obliged to return, in conſequence of a diſeaſe with which he was ſeized upon the coaſt; but was driven by a tempeſt to Sicily, where hearing of a general chapter of his order being to be held at Aſſiſi in Italy, he repaired

paired to it. Tho' he was then little known, the provincial of his order was ſo much pleaſed with his appearance, that he took him with him, and placed him in a convent called *the mount of St. Paul*, in a ſituation little leſs than a deſert; and there he ſubmitted to the loweſt drudgery. After ſome months, however, his ſuperiors, pleaſed with his conduct, procured him holy orders, and ſent him, together with ſome other prieſts, to Forli, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his preaching.

Being greatly concerned at the progreſs of hereſy at this time in the northern parts of Italy, in order the better to prepare himſelf for encountering the heretics, he went through a courſe of theology at Vercelli under a famous doctor there; but he ſoon ſurpaſſed him in knowledge, and was thought equal to any undertaking.

Being ſent by his ſuperiors to undertake the office of guardian to Limiges in France, in order to the converſion of the heretics in that place, it happened at one time that his buſineſs as a preacher required him to be in one place, and his office of guardian in another; and this was the occaſion of the firſt of the many miracles that his hiſtorian aſcribes to him, and it was of a very ſingular kind. For it is aſſerted that he was actually in both the places at the ſame time. After an earneſt prayer for this purpoſe, he, without leaving the pulpit in

which he was preaching on a good friday, appeared in the choir, and ſung the leſſon which was his part of the ſervice there. At Montpellier alſo he once preached in the dome at the ſame time that he was ſinging the hallelujah in the choir of the church. After this his whole life ſeems to have conſiſted of little more than a ſeries of miracles, and many of them of quite an original and extraordinary kind; ſo that it muſt have required much ingenuity to deviſe them. I ſhall give a brief account of all the principal of them, but without the amplification of the writer.

A novice in a monaſtery at Montpellier, being weary of the confinement, had determined to make his eſcape; but Anthony, knowing by inſpiration the ſtate of his mind, breathed into his throat; when falling into a ſwoon, and coming to himſelf, he ſaid he had been in paradiſe; and proceeding to relate what he had ſeen there he was checked by the ſaint. But he was from this time freed from the temptation to leave the monaſtery. Another monk being much diſturbed by laſcivious thoughts, was immediately relieved by putting on Anthony's tunic.

A huſband having become jealous of his wife in conſequence of her frequent attendance on Anthony's preaching, abuſed her very much, and among other outrages he tore off a great part of her

her hair. But the ſaint, having engaged other friars to join with him in prayer for her, took the hair, and applying it to her head, it grew to it again, as if it had never been ſevered from it. The huſband, it is ſaid, was ſo much ſtruck with this miracle, that he was no longer jealous, but behaved to his wife ever after in the kindeſt manner.

When Anthony was at one time preaching in a temporary building, conſtructed of wood, he apprized his audience that the devil was about to terrify and hurt them, but that no harm would eventually happen to any of them. Accordingly while he was preaching the devil untied the ropes, by which the boards were held together, ſo that the whole erection came down. But when it might have been expected that many of the perſons aſſembled would have been cruſhed to death, or at leaſt maimed, not one of them was found to have received the ſmalleſt hurt.

A pious woman much attached to Anthony had a ſon of a reprobate character; and when ſhe was attending one of his ſermons the devil came in the form of a courier, and delivering a letter, informed her that her ſon was dead. This news threw her, and the audience in general, into ſuch diſorder, that the congregation was breaking up; when Anthony cried out that the news was not true, that it was the devil that had brought it, and that

that the young man was alive, as they would ſoon be convinced; and accordingly while he was ſpeaking he entered the place, and the devil abſconded.

A woman paſsionately fond of her young child, going to hear Anthony preach, put her child, by ſome ſtrange illuſion, of which no account is given, into a caldron of water that was on the fire, inſtead of laying it in the cradle, and ſhe heaped a great quantity of wood on the fire before ſhe went out. Recollecting what ſhe had done, ſhe returned with the greateſt anxiety and dread, expecting to find her child dead, eſpecially as ſhe found the fire burning in the fierceſt manner. But inſtead of that the child was playing in the water, as if it had been warm milk. Another child was found actually dead in the cradle after the return of the mother from hearing Anthony preach, but at her intreaty he reſtored him to life.

A young man who had led a very diſorderly life, being touched with compunction at one of Anthony's ſermons, and coming to make his confeſſion to him, was deſired to write an account of all his ſins, and bring the paper to him. This the young man did; but when the paper was opened, in order to its being read, it was found quite blank, every word in it having being miraculouſly effaced.

Something

Something more extraordinary than any of the preceding miracles was exhibited at Rome. For being required by the pope to preach to a congregation conſiſting of people of very different countries, aſſembled for a cruſade, they all heard him ſpeak in their different languages, tho' he ſpoke in Italian only.

A notorious uſurer of Florence, dying when Anthony was in that city, was brought into the church in which he was preaching, in order to his being interred in it. But Anthony exclaimed, "Shall the body whoſe ſoul is in hell lie in this "ſacred place? Open the breaſt, and you will "find it has no heart; but go with me to his houſe, "and I will ſhew you where it is." On this the body was opened, and found to be actually without any heart; and going to the houſe they found it all bloody, as if recently plucked out of the body, in one of his money cheſts. On this the people burned him in unconſecrated ground.

A jealous huſband in that city having determined to kill his wife, and alſo a new born child of hers which he did not believe to be his, Anthony being applied to, took the child in his arms; and in the preſence of the huſband, and ſeveral other gentlemen, commanded him to ſay which of them was his father; when he ſaid diſtinctly, as if he had been ten years old, pointing to the huſband, "This

"is my proper, natural, and legitimate father. "This is he whoſe true, natural, and legitimate ſon "I am." On this the huſband was cured of his jealouſy, and ever after behaved with the greateſt affection to his wife.

The aſtoniſhing miracle exhibited at Rimini contributed more to the fame of Anthony than all his other miracles. Preaching in that city, which abounded with heretics, and the people refuſing to hear him, he went to the ſea ſide, followed by a great crowd; when, the ſea being remarkably calm, he addreſſed himſelf to the fiſhes; ſaying, "Since "men will not hear me, come you and hearken "to what God will tell you by me." Immediately on this the ſea was covered with the heads of fiſhes, which with open mouths fixed their eyes on him; and notwithſtanding their hoſtility to each other, they mildly and humbly, the hiſtorian ſays, without moving their fins, or making the leaſt motion in the water, attended to him. After a diſcourſe of ſome length, he exhorted them to praiſe God; and ſince they could not do it in words, to ſhew ſome viſible ſign of reverence. On this they all bowed their heads, moving them very gently, and with geſtures expreſſive of humility and devotion, acknowledged their obligation to God, and ſignified their approbation of what had been addreſſed to them. The ſpectators, greatly amazed, looked

looked ſometimes on the fiſhes, and ſometimes on the preacher; and being reproved by him for their infidelity, thus upbraided by the mute fiſhes, they fell on their knees, aſking his pardon, and promiſing to live and die in the catholic faith. He then pronounced a bleſſing both on the men, and the fiſhes, and they departed with great joy.

All the inhabitants of Rimini were not, it appears, convinced by this miracle; and one of the infidels having a mule, ſaid, that unleſs Anthony could make his mule, after faſting three days, kneel to the ſacrament, rather than eat of the provender he would bring to him, he would not be convinced. This did not diſcourage our preacher, and a day was fixed for the experiment. On that day a great multitude being aſſembled to ſee the iſſue, tho' a ſieve of oats was brought to the mule, yet, on being addreſſed by Anthony, and commanded by him to adore the true body and blood of Chriſt, without regarding the oats he kneeled on the ground before the hoſt, and continued in that poſture till he was commanded to riſe and eat his oats. The owner of the aſs ſeeing this, aſked pardon for his hereſy, and was reconciled to the church.

Some other heretics of Rimini having laid a ſcheme to poiſon Anthony, he diſcovered it before he had taſted any of the victuals they brought him; when, freely acknowledging their deſign, they challenged

lenged him to eat of the poiſoned food, as a proof of the truth of his doctrine; and after making them promiſe that if it did him no harm they would conform to the church, he ate as much as they pleaſed; and receiving no hurt, they beſought his interceſſion, and engaged to live and die in the faith which he preached.

A young man repenting of having kicked his mother with his foot, cut it off with his own hands, in conſequence of Anthony's ſaying to him, in confeſſion, that the foot which kicked his mother deſerved to be cut off. But the ſaint hearing of the caſe, went to him, and making the ſign of the croſs, faſtened the foot to the leg ſo completely, that not ſo much as a ſcar was to be ſeen at the juncture.

Anthony was no leſs favoured when he was alone, than when he was in public. A gentleman, who entertained him at his houſe near Padua, having the curioſity to look through the key hole of his chamber after he was retired to go to bed, ſaw the room ſhine in the moſt extraordinary manner. Chriſt was deſcended to him in the form of a beautiful child, and while he ſtood upright on the bed, Anthony was kiſſing his feet, and folding him in his arms.

Hardly any of the miracles of Anthony were attended with ſo many extraordinary circumſtances as

the following. A young gentleman at Liſbon being in love with a young lady, whoſe family was at variance with his, was way laid and murdered by her brothers, who then threw the body into the garden of Anthony's father. In conſequence of this he was apprehended, and being convicted of the murder, was ſentenced to die. At that time Anthony was preaching at Padua, but ſtopping in the midſt of his diſcourſe, as perceiving the danger his father was in, he prayed, and God ſent an angel, who carried him to Liſbon; where appearing in the ſtreet through which the executioner was then conducting his father, he ordered all the company to ſtop; and calling for the judges, he deſired that the body might be brought before them. This being done, tho' it had been buried, and was found in a putrid ſtate, he was required by Anthony to declare whether his father was the cauſe of his death; when he opened his eyes, and ſtood up as in perfect health, and ſaid he was not killed by him, or by his order. He then addreſſed the ſaint, and requeſted his abſolution; and this being granted, he returned to a ſtate of death. After this Anthony, diſappearing at Liſbon, returned to his pulpit in Padua, and informed his audience where he had been, and what he had done.

Being

Being near his end, he was apprized of it by the appearance of an angel, whoſe ſplendour ſurpaſſed that of the ſtars, and was informed by him both of the honour that was reſerved for him in heaven, and the great fame that he would have on earth; and when the angel vaniſhed, the room was perfumed with the breath of paradiſe. Looking ſtedfaſtly upwards, he was aſked by a friar who attended him what he ſaw, when he ſaid, "I ſee my "dear Chriſt, who mercifully expects me;" and after he expired his fleſh, which by abſtinence, and various auſterities, was become ſwarthy and dry, was reſplendent, and clear; a manifeſt ſign, ſays the hiſtorian, that it was part of a glorified body. He died in A. D. 1231, in the thirty ſixth year of his age.

His miracles by no means ceaſed at his death. At the very inſtant of it he appeared in the chamber of the abbot of Vercelli, and, touching his throat, cured him of a diſeaſe that he had there, and then vaniſhed like lightning. At his funeral God diſcovered to his attendants a new ſepulchre in the church at Padua, and in that the body was depoſited. Many lame perſons crouding to the funeral were permitted to touch the body, and they were all inſtantly cured; and many who were not able to get to the ſepulchre were cured by only invoking his name.

At

At the requeſt of the principal citizens of Padua, he was ſoon canonized; but one of the cardinals oppoſing it, he had a revelation, which induced him to join his brethren in the act, which expreſſed that it was done in conſequence of an atteſtation of miracles wrought by him both while he lived, and after he was dead; particularly nineteen lame perſons reſtored to the uſe of their limbs, five paralytic perſons cured, and five crooked backed perſons made ſtrait; ſix blind men made to ſee, three deaf men and three mutes reſtored to their hearing and uſe of ſpeech; two perſons freed from the gout, and two raiſed from the dead, and many others cured of various diſorders.

Some heretics, however, it ſeemed, ridiculed theſe miracles; and in order to expoſe them, one of them pretended to be blind, and applied at the ſhrine of the ſaint to be cured. But when he removed the cloth with which his eyes had been covered, they ſtuck to it, and were completely drawn all bloody out of their ſockets. On this he confeſſed the ſcheme, but praying to the ſaint his eyes were looſened from the cloth, and returned to their places. All the company were of courſe converted.

A ſimple fellow, having applied to a conjuror near Padua, was led by him into a deſert place, and a circle was drawn about him. But being frightened

frightened at what he ſaw and heard, ſo as not to be able to keep within it, the devil ſeized him, and deprived him of his eyes and tongue. In this deplorable ſituation he invoked St. Anthony; and being conducted to his ſepulchre, he recovered his eyes; but whether, the hiſtorian ſays, they were the ſame that he had loſt, or others that came in their place, cannot be known.

A luxurious infidel laughing at the account of theſe miracles, ſaid he would believe them if a glaſs which he threw into the ſtreet, from a lofty room in which he and his companions were dining, ſhould not be broken; when not only was the glaſs unbroken, but the ſtone on which it fell was broken to pieces.

Two other unbelievers ridiculing this miracle took ſome dry ſtalks of a vine; and one of them ſaid, "If it was Anthony that preſerved the glaſs "from being broken, let him cauſe theſe dry "branches to bring forth leaves, and ripe grapes, "enow to fill this cup (which he held in his hand) "with wine." This, however, immediately took place, and converted them all.

An inſolent ſoldier meeting a poor leprous man going for a cure to the ſepulchre of St. Anthony laughed at him, and bid him rather apply to a phyſician; but he perſiſted in his reſolution to go to the ſaint. There falling into a trance, he

was

was ordered to go to the ſoldier, being aſſured that his loathſome diſeaſe would leave him, and be tranſferred to him that had laughed at him. This he did, and the promiſed effect followed. The ſoldier, however, applying to the ſaint, was alſo cured, and ever after proclaimed the miracle.

The daughter of a pious woman, much devoted to St. Anthony, was drowned in the river Brenta; but the body being brought to his ſepulchre came to life again. Alſo a fine boy, which had been conceived in conſequence of the prayers of Anthony, was drowned in a ditch that was ſuddenly filled with water when he was playing in it together with other boys; but the corpſe, being carried to the ſepulchre of the ſaint, was reſtored to life; and at the ſame time all the children that had been drowned along with him, were found alive and well; nor could it be known how they came to the place where they were found.

The ſon of Anthony's ſiſter was drowned in the ſea; but tho' the body was found in a ſtate of putrefaction, yet by prayers to the ſaint he was reſtored to life, and in conſequence of the mother's vow he took the habit of St. Francis, and continued all his life in that order.

The infanta of Portugal being at the point of death, her mother praying to St. Anthony, he appeared to her, and gave her the choice of going

with him to heaven at that time, or to continue alive for the conſolation of the kingdom. She chuſing to live for the comfort of her mother, ſhe gave her a cord, as a token of her recovering her health.

To a woman who had been guilty of adultery, but had repented, the devil appeared in the form of a crucifix perſonating Chriſt, and required her to drown herſelf in the Tagus; but going to the church of St. Anthony on the day of his feſtival, and praying very devoutly, ſhe fell into a trance, and heard the ſaint ſpeak to her, and bid her look into her lap for a writing which would free her from all diabolical vexation. This writing ſhe accordingly found, and it contained theſe words, "Behold the wood of the croſs. Fly ye adverſe "parties. The lion of the tribe of Judah has o-"vercome; hallelujah, hallelujah." The poſſeſſion of this writing freed her from the ſatanical illuſion. The king hearing of it, and getting the writing from her huſband, ſhe relapſed; but recovered on obtaining a copy of it, the king being unwilling to part with the original.

Laſtly, two boys being killed by an exploſion of gunpowder at Padua, and carried to the ſepulchre of the ſaint, were reſtored to life. Of this the hiſtorian ſays an authentic proceſs was made. This happened on the 24th of May A. D. 1617.

Mr.

Mr. Fleury ſpeaks of this Anthony as a celebrated preacher, and expounder of the ſcriptures, tho' he ſays that his ſermons, ſome of which are now extant, do not make him appear to much advantage. He ſays that he was canonized on account of the miracles that he wrought after his death, but he ſays nothing of any that were performed by him while he was alive, and mentions no particulars of the others. From this it is ſufficiently evident that the hiſtorian, who in ſome reſpects was credulous enough, had no faith in the miracles that I have recited.

I ſhould conclude with obſerving, that this account implies no reflection on Anthony himſelf. It does not appear from any proper evidence that he ever pretended to work miracles. His attempt to go to preach to the Mahometans, when he could expect nothing but martyrdom, is a proof that he had the ſpirit of a martyr. Like many other perſons in times of ignorance, he abounded in zeal, devoting himſelf wholly to what he thought to be the ſervice of God and Chriſt; and tho' he had no objection to being perſecuted himſelf, it does not appear that he ever promoted the perſecution of others, as many of his order at that day did. Tho' his great object was the converſion of heretics, he had no recourſe to any meaſures beſides thoſe of argument and perſuaſion.

SECTION VI.

Of the Eaſtern Churches.

THE antient Greek church continued in this period in nearly the ſame ſtate as in the preceding ones, chriſtianity being almoſt extinguiſhed through the poverty of the people, the oppreſſion of the Turks, and a want of any conſiderable ſchools or ſeminaries of learning. The Greeks are, however, as much attached to their peculiar rites, in which their religion ſeems chiefly to conſiſt, as ever. They adhere to the ſeven general councils; but the interpretation of their decrees, and the deciſion of all controverſies, is lodged with the patriarch of Conſtantinople; ſo that, in this reſpect, this church is nearly in the ſame ſtate with reſpect to its head, as the catholics are with reſpect to theirs.

The external authority of the patriarch of Conſtantinople, who depends for his confirmation on the grand ſeignior (which is generally purchaſed) tho' conſiſting, as formerly, of four provinces, viz. thoſe

thoſe of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jeruſalem, beſides that of Conſtantinople, is greatly abridged by the prevalence of Monophyſite doctrines in the two former provinces, and the almoſt total depopulation of the laſt, together with ſocieties of other denominations of chriſtians eſtabliſhed at Jeruſalem. The patriarch of Ruſſia alſo became independent of that of Conſtantinople in A. D. 1589; when Jeremy the patriarch of Conſtantinople, who was ſoliciting aid againſt a rival, created him a ſeparate and independent patriarch, on condition, however, of his obtaining the conſent of the patriarch of Conſtantinople, and paying a ſum of money; an obligation from which the Ruſſian patriarch was afterwards releaſed.

The Georgians and Mingrelians are alſo independent of the patriarch of Conſtantinople. But ſince the Mahometan conqueſts, they, and eſpecially the laſt mentioned, have loſt almoſt every thing of chriſtianity, except the name. They have at their head a perſon called *a Catholic*; but the ignorance and avarice of their prieſts are a diſgrace to the chriſtian name. According to Chardin, and other travellers, they would not be known to be chriſtians but by certain rites performed in the moſt indecent manner; as they have no regular public worſhip.

Many attempts have been made by the Roman Catholics to gain the Greeks to their communion, and ſeveral churches on the plan of the Roman have been founded in the Greek iſlands, but they make no figure; and the antipathy of the Greeks to the Latin church is not leſs than it was in any former period.

Urban VIII had much at heart the union of the Greeks under the juriſdiction of the pope; and in order to promote it a conduct very different from that which had been formerly uſed was adopted. Many treatiſes were written to ſhew that not only the Greeks, but the other Eaſtern churches, were not heretics; as they differed from the church of Rome only in matters of form. But they were ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Cyrillus Luear, the patriarch of Conſtantinople, a man of great learning and piety, and who indeed was much inclined to embrace the doctrine of the Proteſtants. All the endeavours to gain that prelate failing, the Jeſuits and the French ambaſſador got him to be accuſed of treaſon, and by that means procured his death in A. D. 1638. His ſucceſſor, Cyrillus of Berea, was juſt ſuch a man as the court of Rome wanted; but he alſo ſuffered a violent death, and was ſucceeded by Parthenius, an enemy of Rome; and from this time no more attempts have been made by the catholics upon this church. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 402

p. 402. Melanchthon, and ſome other Proteſtants, endeavoured to recommend their religion to the Greeks, but they gained little attention.

The Ruſſian church, which was derived from the Greek, is not without ſectaries. They are commonly called *Roſkolniki*, and neither perſuaſion nor force has been able to bring them into communion with the eſtabliſhed church. They complain of many corruptions having been introduced into the church, but of what kind they are, we have no certain information, and it is acknowledged that their lives are exemplary. Since the acceſſion of Peter the Great they have been treated with more lenity than in former times. The origin of this ſect is not known; but ſome ſuppoſe them to be the remains of the *Bogomilians*. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 406.

The wiſh expreſſed by John Baſilides, grand duke of Ruſſia, in A. D. 1580, to join the Romiſh church, and the ſolemn embaſſy which he ſent to Gregory XIII, exhorting him to renew the negociations for the union of their churches, proceeded from a temporal motive, and had no effect.

The Monophyſites, commonly called Jacobites, from Jacob Abardai, who revived the ſect when it was almoſt expiring in the ſixth century, have a patriarch of Antioch who generally reſides

in the monaſtery of St. Ananias, or ſome city in Syria. His juriſdiction being very extenſive, he is aſſiſted by a colleague, who lives in the neighbourhood of Moſul. All theſe patriarchs have the name of Ignatius.

The African Monophyſites are under the patriarch of Alexandria, and they are either Copts, living in Egypt, or Abyſſinians, who have all their patriarchs from Egypt. But they are ſo exceedingly ignorant, that they are not able to give any tolerable account of the principles they received from their anceſtors. They pretend, however, that tho' they do not receive the council of Chalcedon, they are not Eutychians; ſince tho,' in oppoſition to the doctrine of Neſtorius, they ſay "there is but "one nature in Chriſt, they ſay this one nature "is two fold, or compound."

The Armenians, tho' Monophyſites, differ from the others, in ſeveral articles of diſcipline and worſhip. They have three patriarchs, the chief of whom has forty two archbiſhops under him. He reſides in a monaſtery at Eichmazin. The ſecond, called the Catholic, who acknowledges the ſupremacy of the former, reſides at Cis in Cilicia, and has twelve archbiſhops under him. The third reſides in the iſland of Aghtaman, in the lake of Varaſpuracan, and has eight or nine biſhops under him.

The

The Neſtorians reſide chiefly in Meſopotamia. They carefully avoid a multitude of ſuperſtitious opinions and practices, which abound in the Greek and Latin churches. Formerly they had only one head, a Catholic, who reſided firſt at Bagdad, and then at Moſul. But in A. D. 1552 they were divided by chuſing two patriarchs, one of whom, in order to ſtrengthen his intereſt, went to Rome, and acknowledged the ſupremacy of the pope. This party, however, is inconſiderable, and at preſent they ſeem to have withdrawn themſelves from any connection with the Latin church. Their chief reſides at Ormia in Perſia. The other chief reſides at Moſul, and his juriſdiction is very extenſive, comprehending the Arabian Neſtorians, and thoſe who are called the chriſtians of St. Thomas in Malabar.

There are others who are called chriſtians of St. John, living in Perſia and Arabia, chiefly at Baſſora. Their religion conſiſts very much in bathing, attended with peculiar ceremonies, and they are ſuppoſed by many to be the remains of the antient *Hemerobaptiſts*, mentioned by Epiphanius, and other early writers. They are ſometimes called *Sabians*, but they call themſelves diſciples of John.

There are in the Eaſt ſome other ſects that have ſomething of chriſtianity in their doctrines and inſtitutions, but they are very imperfectly

known, and are thought to be the remains of Manicheans and other heretics. *Moſheim.*

The catholics have made many attempts to introduce their religion into every part of the Eaſt, but they have nothing to boaſt of in their ſucceſs. The Maronites, indeed, who inhabit mount Libanus, acknowledge the ſupremacy of the pope, but this is all the catholiciſm they have; and being very poor, they are a conſiderable expence to the court of Rome. Nor does it appear that any of theſe Eaſtern chriſtians have expreſſed a wiſh to ſubject themſelves to the pope, but from ſome intereſted motive.

SECTION

SECTION VII.

Of the Proteſtants in the Valteline, the Waldenſes, and the Bohemian Brethren.

IN A. D. 1620 there was a general riſing of the catholics againſt the Proteſtants in the Valteline, who were taken by ſurprize, and murdered in the moſt cruel manner, and eſpecially perſons of the greateſt wealth and conſequence in that country, whoſe goods were every where plundered. In general they were killed by fire arms, or other weapons, but many were burned in houſes and churches, and ſome cruelly tortured. For this conſpiracy and ſudden riſing no particular reaſon appears to have been aſſigned; but it was thought that it would not have been done without encouragement from the Spaniards, eſpecially as a ſimilar attempt had before been made by them.

Thoſe murdering catholics having ſurrounded the town of Tyrone on the 9th of July, the Proteſtants came out of their houſes to enquire into the cauſe of it; when they were ſet upon, and murdered

murdered in the ſtreets, and in various ways and places, to the number of ſixty, and only three perſons eſcaped by flying to the Alps.

Thoſe murderers then proceeded to Teglio, where they ſurpriſed a congregation at public worſhip, when they fired upon them; and afterwards, as ſome of them fled into the belfrey, they ſet fire to the place, and by this and other means they maſſacred more than ſixty perſons.

Going thence to Sondrio they killed more than one hundred and forty perſons, and ſome of thoſe they tortured in a cruel manner, when they refuſed to go to maſs. Many of this place hid themſelves in holes and caves in the woods, where they periſhed miſerably, their bodies being found afterwards. Some to whom the perſecutors had promiſed their lives, they nevertheleſs put to death, openly alleging that no faith was to be kept with heretics.

At Caſpano and Trabon about eleven were murdered, and twenty ſeven at Bruce, ſome of them by their particular friends and relations; and this in the moſt wanton and cruel manner, not only ſhooting them, but throwing them down from precipices, ſtoning them, hacking them with ſwords, and burning them. Many of the caſes, eſpecially thoſe of the women, are exceedingly affecting;

affecting; but for particulars I ſhall content myſelf with referring to Mr. Fox, Vol. 3, p. 952,

Notwithſtanding the edict of the duke of Savoy in A. D. 1561, in favour of the Waldenſes, the popiſh party did not ceaſe their importunity till A. D. 1565, they procured another, by which all his ſubjects who did not conform to the catholic religion were ordered to leave the country, a year being allowed them to diſpoſe of their effects. The Proteſtant princes in Germany, and eſpecially the elector Palatine, interceded for them, but in vain; and in A. D. 1571, they were more particularly oppreſſed on the pretence that in the former wars of France they had aſſiſted the Proteſtant party. Charles the IX, willing at that time to gain the good opinion of his own Proteſtant ſubjects, interceded for them. But after the maſſacre of Paris the ſeverities were renewed by the governors of provinces, tho' repreſſed by the duke, ſo long as the ducheſs, who was their friend, lived. Still, however, they were ſubjected to much ill uſage in particular places, and on particular occaſions.

The marquiſate of Saluces being reſtored to the duke of Savoy in A. D. 1588, he allowed thoſe people for ſome time the profeſsion of their religion. But the popiſh party, and eſpecially the miſsionaries eſtabliſhed by Clement VIII, were indefatigable

gable in their endeavours to injure them; and they ſpared no artifice in order to gain their purpoſe, while little regard was paid to the remonſtrances which they did not fail to make, in anſwer to the accuſations that were brought againſt them. It was made death for thoſe oppreſſed people to uſe any endeavours to prevent the converſion of any of their body; and any perſon informing of ſuch an offence (and one evidence was ſufficient) was promiſed ſecrecy, and a reward of one hundred crowns. *Moreland*, p. 271.

They were frequently diſtreſſed by ſoldiers quartered upon them, and in various other ways; while encouragements of various kinds were perpetually held out to thoſe who would conform to the religion of the prince. In fine, nothing that could act upon their hopes or their fears was neglected, ſhort of an abſolute and unconditional proſcription. In A. D. 1601 they were all odered either to go to maſs, or leave the country. This order was repeated in A. D. 1602, with leave to ſtay only fifteen days; and in ſome places not more than five days were allowed. In the ſame year they were excluded from all public offices, and forbidden to have any ſchools, public or private, or to receive among them any ſtrangers who were miniſters or ſchoolmaſters; and in A. D. 1622, they

firmed to them by royal edicts, as they were in A. D. 1603, and A. D. 1620.

The plague breaking out in A. D. 1630, deſtroyed a great part of them, and eſpecially of the miniſters, owing, no doubt, to their aſſiduity in attending the ſick. In conſequence of this they applied to the French churches for ſuccours, and thoſe who were ſent introduced ſeveral changes in their diſcipline and doctrine, making them conformable to thoſe of the Proteſtant churches in France. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 104.

Notwithſtanding the privileges granted the Vandois by their ſovereigns, and which were repeated in A. D. 1649, A. D. 1653, and again in A. D. 1654; yet in the year following, Andrew Gaſtaldo, having procured authority to act according to his diſcretion with reſpect to them, ordered all of them who lived in the valley of Lucern, and nine other vallies, to remove without delay to others, as Bobbio, &c. under pain of death and confiſcation of goods. This order being given the 25th of January, the diſtreſs occaſioned by it (as no women, children or ſick perſons, were allowed to remain, and the places to which they were to remove were unable to receive them) may eaſily be conceived; but nothing they could do, by the moſt earneſt petitions and remonſtrances, could retard, or even mitigate, the execution of this cruel order.

The

The goods they were obliged to leave behind them were plundered, and they had no redreſs; becauſe they could not bring evidence againſt the perſons who took them.

After theſe diſtreſſed people had made repeated endeavours to get acceſs to the duke, that they might lay their complaints before him, or even before a council conſiſting wholly of their enemies, and had received ſome ſmall encouragement, which led them to preſume that they might have liberty to ſtay beyond the ſhort time fixed for their removal, they were on the 17th of April, while they were wholly off their guard, attacked by a number of troops, who fell upon them, and butchered them without mercy. The next day, being more on their guard, they made ſome reſiſtance, and beat off a party of the enemy; but on the 21ſt of the ſame month, while they were decieved by a parley with the marquis of Pianeſſa, in which they were promiſed protection on terms which they thought to be tolerable, they were ſet upon again, and ſlaughtered as before, even in thoſe places in which they had been aſſured they ſhould not be moleſted; and there was no ſpecies of cruelty that was not exerciſed on ſuch as fell into their power, even on women and infirm perſons. The particulars, as related by Moreland, from the moſt undoubted evidence, are moſt ſhocking.

One village, Rorai, eſcaped this dreadful maſsacre, and to ſurprize it, three hundred ſoldiers were afterwards ſent. But being now apprized of their danger, a few men placed in ambuſcade repulſed them with loſs, p. 500. The next day five hundred more were beat off in the ſame manner; but afterwards ſeven hundred who were ſent againſt them ſucceeded ſo far as to burn and deſtroy every thing in that village. However the ſame party headed, as at firſt, by one Gianavel, and joined by a few more, fell upon them, and recovered the booty they had got. Theſe ſmall detachments not ſucceeding, eight thouſand men, beſides the militia, were ſent to ſubdue them; and theſe, abandoning themſelves to every ſpecies of cruelty, deſtroyed about one hundred and twenty of theſe people. But, headed ſtill by the ſame courageous Gianavel, they ſurprized a great part of this army on the 28th of May, and with the loſs of a very few of their own number, killed not leſs than four hundred and fifty of the enemy. Preſently after this we find theſe people muſtered near five hundred men, and on the 11th of July they killed three hundred of the enemy, nor did it appear to be in the power of the great force that was ſent againſt them to extirminate them.

Soon after the commencement of theſe troubles the Proteſtant cantons of Switzerland wrote to

to the duke of Savoy in favour of his reformed ſubjects. They alſo applied to the States general of the united provinces to join them in their interceſſion. But no perſon took their part in a more active manner than Oliver Cromwell, then protector of England. He wrote to the kings of France, of Sweden, and of Denmark, to the States general, and to the Swiſs cantons, and ſent Mr. Moreland as his embaſſador to the duke of Savoy. Oliver himſelf contributed two thouſand pounds towards the relief of theſe diſtreſſed people; and on his recommendation the ſum of thirty eight thouſand pounds was raiſed in the kingdom.

In July the people of Zurich ſent a ſecond embaſſy to Turin, requeſting a ceſſation of arms, in order to an amicable termination of the war. With ſome difficulty they obtained leave to confer with the Vandois on the ſubject, and at length by their mediation, a kind of treaty was entered into at Pignerol, Auguſt the 18th, D. A. 1655, by which they had liberty to return to their antient habitations, with all the privileges that had been granted to them before. Such, at leaſt, was concluded from the terms of the treaty. But it was drawn with much art, and notwithſtanding the moſt earneſt remonſtrances it was ſettled before the arrival of ambaſſadors from Cromwell and the united Provinces, and gave the Proteſtants in general

very little ſatisfaction; eſpecially as it was in the form of a grant, or indulgence, which the court of Savoy might think itſelf at liberty to retract. In fact, the Vandois after this treaty were ſubject to many hardſhips; being ſtill, in many places, expelled from their habitations, and plundered, without obtaining any redreſs. And all their attempts to get better terms by their application to the court of France were without effect.

Victor Amadeus duke of Savoy, following the example of the king of France, on the revocation of the edict of Nantes, formed the reſolution of baniſhing all the reformed out of his ſtates; and in November A. D. 1685 he, in the firſt place, ordered all ſtrangers to leave the vallies in fifteen days. This was with a view to drive out all thoſe who had fled to his country from France. But this not anſwering his purpoſe, he forbad on pain of death the exerciſe of the reformed religion, or the teaching of ſchools by any of the profeſſors of it; allowing them, as he had done the ſtrangers, fifteen days to withdraw themſelves. Intreaty having no effect to procure the recall of theſe cruel edicts, thoſe who were expoſed to ſuffer by them defended themſelves by force of arms; but the French and the Piedmonteſe troops acting in concert deſtroyed more than three thouſand of them, and made more than ten thouſand priſoners.

At

At the interceſſion of the reformed cantons of Swiſſerland, the duke permitted theſe priſoners to go out of the country, and ſome of them went to Geneva, but not very many, a great number of them having periſhed by the diſtreſs to which they were expoſed; and from Geneva thoſe who remained of them went into different parts of Swiſſerland.

At length this prince forming an alliance with king William, and thinking there would be no more determined enemies of the French than his reformed ſubjects, allowed them to return to their country, and granted them their former privileges; ſo natural is it, ſays a popiſh hiſtorian, for men to ſacrifice their religion to every profane view, and to intereſts purely human. *Memoirs Chronologiques*, Vol. 3, p. 287.

The fate of the *Huſſites*, or *Moravian Brethren*, in this period, was ſimilar to that of the Vandois. The different ſocieties that had ſeparated from the Romiſh communion in Poland, viz. the Lutherans, the Reformed, and the Bohemian Brethren, wanting the aid of each other, formed a kind of union at Sendomir in A. D. 1570; when they agreed on a common confeſſion of faith, each party, however, retaining their own ſeparate confeſſions, and forms of diſcipline. They acknowledged each other to be orthodox, and conſented to hold com-

munion as ſuch, and to ſend deputies to their ſeparate general ſynods. But in the general confeſſion the points in debate were expreſſed in ambiguous terms, ſo that it did not put an end to controverſy, and this union was afterwards diſſolved. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 120. *Crantz*, p. 57.

Before the reformation the Bohemian Brethren had educated their youth for the miniſtry by giving to each miniſter a few to attend upon him as Acolyths. After this they ſent many to the German univerſities; but this proving to be a ſource of diſſention among them, they, in A. D. 1584, founded ſeminaries of their own at Przerow, and three other places in Moravia. *Crantz*, p. 63.

The Brethren had been favoured by Maximilian II, the great friend of univerſal toleration, and the privileges which they obtained under him were ratified by Rodolf II in A. D. 1609, who granted them at the ſame time liberty to erect new churches, and to chuſe out of their nobility advocates to maintain the rights of their church. They were alſo admitted into the Conſiſtory, together with the Lutherans and Calixtins, each ſending three members. Moreover, the Bethlehem church at Prague, in which Hus began to preach, was given to them; and this not being large enough, they were allowed to erect another for the Germans and Bohemians. *Ib.* p. 65.

In

In this ſtate of reſt from perſecution many of the Brethren relaxed from the rigour of their diſcipline, ſo as to be ill prepared for the ſtate of ſuffering which followed. For on the death of Rodolf in A. D. 1612, Ferdinand II being determined to enforce the decrees of the council of Trent, began with the Bohemians; and they being unfortunately driven into open rebellion, and defeated in the battle of Prague in A. D. 1620, many of their leaders ſuffered death, and moſt of the reſt were baniſhed. In A. D. 1624 all the miniſters were ſent out of the country, and tho' the baron Charles Schrotin, vice margrave of Moravia, who had twenty four miniſters of the Brethren on his eſtates, repreſented that they had preſerved their loyalty, it availed nothing.

Among the miniſters who were driven out of Moravia at this time was John Amos, or Comenius, born in A. D. 1592, head maſter of the ſeminary at Przerow, and afterwards miniſter of Fulneck in Moravia. When in A. D. 1627 all the Proteſtant nobility were ordered to leave the country, he at firſt concealed himſelf, but afterwards with part of his congregation he emigrated to Poland, and at Liſsa in A. D. 1631 he publiſhed his *Janua linguarum reſerata*, a book which has been tranſlaetd into almoſt all known languages.

In A. D. 1656 loſing all his books in a fire, he went to Frankfort on the Oder, thence to Hamburgh, and thence to Amſterdam. But when he was at Liſſa in A. D. 1632 he was made biſhop of the diſperſed Brethren from Bohemia and Moravia, and was preſident of their ſynod from A. D. 1648 to A. D. 1671, when, being, in the eightieth year of his age, he died. *Crantz*, p. 70.

Comenius was indefatigable in his labours for the good of his church, and he publiſhed many things for their uſe. But he gave too much credit to a number of prophecies which were in circulation during the thirty years war, about the fall of the Auſtrian family, and the reſtoration of Frederic, which expoſed him and his brethren to much inconvenience. Before his death, almoſt deſpairing of the church over which he had preſided, he concurred in A. D. 1657 in the appointment of two biſhops, one of whom was Peter Jablonſki, his ſon in law; but he dying before him, was ſucceeded by his ſon in A. D. 1699, Daniel Erneſt Jablonſki, who at the ſame time obtained the ſuperintendency of the Bohemian Brethren out of Poland. He was chaplain in ordinary at the court of Berlin, and wrote ſeveral very learned works.

On

On the diſperſion of all the Proteſtants after the peace of Weſtphalia, the Brethren fled in various directions, in ſome places forming congregations; but in moſt they were loſt among the other inhabitants.

SECTION VIII.

Of the Lutherans, and the Reformed.

THE genuine doctrines of the Lutherans of this period are to be found in the confeſſion of Augſburgh, the articles of Smalcald, which were drawn up by Luther, to ſhew how far he was willing to go to prevent a final rupture with the catholics, and in his larger and ſhorter catechiſms. In theſe he maintained the omnipreſence of the body of Chriſt, together with its peculiar preſence in the euchariſt, a doctrine as remote from common ſenſe as that of tranſubſtantiation; tho' Melanchon is ſaid to have leaned to, if he did not profeſs, the doctrine of the Swiſs divines on this ſubject. The

Lutherans, however, very wiſely did not lay much ſtreſs on mere rites and forms; and ſome of their churches retain more of thoſe which they received from their catholic anceſtors, and others fewer, without any breach of their union. Their liturgies alſo, and the modes of conducting public worſhip, differ much in different places. In general, however, they retain ſeveral things which the Reformed condemn as ſuperſtitious, as the uſe of images in churches, the diſtinguiſhing veſtments of the clergy, the private confeſſion of ſins, the uſe of wafers in the adminiſtration of the Lord's ſupper, the form of exorciſm in baptiſm, and ſome others. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 109.

Tho' the Lutherans have no *biſhops* properly ſo called, they have *ſuperintendants*, who have a higher rank, and greater privileges, than the common clergy; and theſe vary in different places. In Sweden and Denmark they retain more of the power of the antient biſhops.

The Lutheran church like every other in this period, was agitated with controverſies, eſpecially in the early part of it. While Luther lived, his authority preſerved union among his followers; but on his death Melancthon was not able, by his meekneſs and moderation, to maintain the ſame tranquility. In the debates concerning the *Interim*, he maintained the lawfulneſs of obeying the ſovereign

reign in all matters of indifference, in which he was violently oppoſed by many, and eſpecially by Flacius, who differed from him both with reſpect to the articles that were ſaid to be indifferent, and the lawfulneſs of yielding to their impoſition.

Luther's doctrine of ſalvation by grace alone led many of his followers to deny the neceſſity of good works, and this occaſioned another warm controverſy; Melancthon aſſerting their neceſſity. In the courſe of this controverſy ſome went ſo far as to aſſert that good works were even an impediment to ſalvation. Melancthon, however, followed by the great lords of the Lutherans, denied the abſolute ſervitude of the human will in the buſineſs of ſalvation, and the total inability of man to do any good action; aſſerting that the will of man concurs with the operation of divine grace, which was called *Semipelagianiſm*. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 40.

Nothing excited the indignation of the moderate party ſo much as Flacius obſtinately maintaining that original ſin was of the very ſubſtance of human nature, which he was led to do by his antagoniſt aſking him, whether original ſin was to be ranked among ſubſtances or accidents. The violence with which this controverſy was conducted, greatly impeded the progreſs of the reformation.

On the death of Melancthon, who was moſt active in this controverſy as in others which aroſe among

among the Lutherans, the elector of Saxony, and other princes, procured a conference between the heads of the contending parties at Altenburg in A. D. 1568; but the warmth of the diſputants prevented any good effects from it. They there endeavoured to procure a *form of concord*, drawn up by the moſt moderate on both ſides, to be approved in the different conſiſtories of the Lutherans, and James Andreæ, profeſſor at Tubingen, was employed on this work from A. D. 1569, by order of the dukes of Wirtemberg and Brunſwick, and he was indefatigable in his endeavours to recommend the form that he had prepared.

Thoſe who adopted the opinions of Zuinglius in Germany muſt have been numerous. In A. D. 1570 Peucer, a man of learning, and of an excellent character, profeſſor of natural philoſophy at Wittemberg, and ſon in law of Melancthon, made a public profeſſion, along with others of his diſciples, of the doctrine of Calvin; and in the year following he publiſhed a work in the German language intitled *Stereoma*, in which they declared their diſſent from the doctrine of Luther concerning the euchariſt. This alarming Auguſtus, the elector of Saxony, he called a ſolemn convocation of the Saxon divines at Dreſden in A. D. 1571; when they drew up a form of agreement, in which the omnipreſence of the body of Chriſt was denied.

Afterwards

Afterwards, however, the elector being made to believe that a great pillar of the doctrine of Luther was endangered by it, he called another convention at Torgaw, in A. D. 1574, and tho' fifteen perſons only attended, and complied with the wiſhes of the elector, he committed ſome who oppoſed the doctrine of Luther to priſon, others he baniſhed, and Peucer was ſubjected to the moſt rigorous confinement till A. D. 1585, when he obtained his liberty by means of the prince of Anhalt.

By the order of the elector the form of concord drawn up by Andreæ, but reviſed by many other perſons in A. D. 1576, when the aſſembly of divines met at Torgaw, was adopted. This was a new confeſſion of faith for the Lutheran church, in which the omnipreſence of the body of Chriſt, and the real manducation of it in the euchariſt, were aſſerted; and it cenſured all who did not adopt theſe opinions as heretics, and encouraged the civil magiſtrate to ſuppreſs them. Indeed, the Lutherans in general retained the proſecuting maxims of the age till towards the cloſe of the ſeventeenth century; when it was generally allowed among them, that the civil magiſtrate has nothing to do with the religious opinions of thoſe who do not diſturb the peace of ſociety. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 440.

Tho'

Tho' this meaſure was deſigned to heal the diviſions of the Lutheran church, and to preſerve it from the doctrines of the Reformed, yet like other violent meaſures, it failed of anſwering its end. It gave the greateſt poſſible offence to all the friends of peace, it entirely alienated the Reformed, and occaſioned a violent and long continued controverſy among themſelves. It was rejected with the greateſt indignation by the Lutheran churches of Heſſe, of Pomerania, and many other places. Julius duke of Brunſwick, the original patron of this form of concord, himſelf changed his opinion concerning it, and excluded it from the number of thoſe creeds that were to be ſubſcribed by his ſubjects.

Under Chriſtian I, who ſucceeded Auguſtus, the enemies of this form of concord were encouraged to attempt the rejection of it; but on his death in A. D. 1591, they ſuffered for it, ſome of them being baniſhed, and others impriſoned; and Crellius the firſt miniſter of Chriſtian even ſuffered death in A. D. 1601, in conſequence of ſome tumult that had been occaſioned by this controverſy.

Many Lutheran churches, offended at theſe proceedings, and diſapproving the form of concord, joined the Reformed. Among them were the churches of Naſſau, Hanaw, Iſenburg, and others; *Ib.* p. 105. In A. D. 1595 the princes of Anhalt renounced

renounced the profeſſion of Lutheraniſm, and embraced the ſyſtem of Geneva; but his ſubjects were left at liberty to follow which they pleaſed.

The Lutheran church ſuſtained a great loſs in the defection of Maurice landgrave of Heſſe, who adopted the ſyſtem of the Reformed. In A. D. 1604 he removed the profeſſors from the univerſity of Wittemberg, and in A. D. 1619 he ſent divines to the ſynod at Dort, with orders to conform to the decrees of that aſſembly. This example was followed in part by John Sigiſmond elector of Brandenburg, in A. D. 1614; but tho' he adopted the diſcipline of the church of Geneva, he did not adopt all their doctrines, and he allowed his ſubjects liberty of conſcience. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 417.

There was ſome danger of the ſyſtem of the Reformed ſupplanting that of Luther in Denmark, the diſciples of Melancthon having much influence in that country; but theſe appearances vaniſhed when in A. D. 1614, Canut biſhop of Guttemberg, who had embraced the doctrine of Calvin, was deprived of his epiſcopal jurisdiction. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 484.

Many attempts were made by the friends of peace in this period to unite the Lutherans and the Reformed, at leaſt to bring them to tolerate one another, and leſſen the acrimony which prevailed

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on both ſides. But tho' the Reformed were at all times well diſpoſed to this, and were ready to allow that the Lutherans held no fundamental errors, the Lutherans would never acknowledge the ſame with reſpect to them. A ſynod of the French Proteſtants held at Charenton in A. D. 1631 paſſed an act in which it was declared that the Lutheran ſyſtem was conformable to the ſpirit of true piety, and free from pernicious and fundamental errors. But this candour thus publicly expreſſed, had no effect on the other party. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 421.

Uladiſlaus IV king of Poland had much at heart the union of all the churches which were oppoſed to that of Rome; and for this purpoſe he ordered a conference to be held at Thorn in A. D. 1645. But the perſons who met ſeparated with increaſed animoſity againſt each other. Several other attempts were made both by princes and private perſons to bring the Lutherans and the Reformed to a nearer union, but they all failed of ſucceſs.

George Calixtus of Sleſwick, a perſon of diſtinguiſhed genius and learning, exerted himſelf greatly to promote an union, at leaſt of affection, among all chriſtians, even including the catholics; by maintaining that all the fundamental doctrines of chriſtianity were contained in the apoſtles creed, which

which is received by them all. But this noble attempt only engaged him and all Germany in a controverſy which continued after his death in A. D. 1656; and according to Moſheim gave occaſion to ſuch an exhibition of an unchriſtian ſpirit in his antagoniſts, as we have but few examples of in the hiſtory of the church. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 446.

About A. D. 1616 a controverſy aroſe among the Lutherans concerning the nature and degree of the humiliation of Chriſt, whether his divine attributes were ſuſpended, or only concealed, during his mediatorial office. The latter was maintained by the doctors of Tubingen, and the former by thoſe of Groſſen. This controverſy, like the reſt, was conducted with much warmth; and tho' the Saxon divines were commanded by their ſovereign in A. D. 1624 to interpoſe their good offices, their deciſion gave no ſatisfaction to the contending parties. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 469.

Among the Lutheran theologians of this period we muſt mention Jacob Bohman, a taylor in Gorlitz, called by his admirers the *German theoſophiſt*. Having got ſome knowledge of the doctrine of Robert Fludd, and the Roſicrucians, he ſtruck out a ſcheme of theology more obſcure than any that had been broached before. It is not poſſible in intelligible language to give any idea of it.

The church uſually called *Reformed* received great luſtre from the labours of Calvin, who reduced the diſcipline of it to a ſyſtem, and endeavoured to get it introduced into other churches; making Geneva, as it were, the centre, and fountain head, of that diviſion of the ſeparatiſts from the Roman communion. To this the eſtabliſhment of an univerſity, in which he was profeſſor, and in which he was ſeconded by Beza, greatly contributed. Their reputation drew pupils from all quarters, and theſe diſperſed themſelves into every part of Europe.

The ſyſtem of Calvin differed from that of Zuinglius in the following particulars. He took from the civil magiſtrate that unbounded power which Zuinglius had allowed to him in eccleſiaſtical matters. He acknowledged no ſuperiority of one chriſtian miniſter over another, but provided for the government of the church by ſynods of preſbyters, and ruling elders; and he reſtored to its vigour the practice of excommunication, and recommended it to be enforced by the civil magiſtrate; whereas Zuinglius denied this power to the clergy. In this reſpect the ſyſtem of Calvin did not differ from that of the catholics, and he was ſometimes called the pope of Geneva. He made himſelf many enemies at Geneva by his rigorous meaſures to exclude unworthy members from

from church communion; but his perſeverance carried him through every oppoſition. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 116.

Calvin differed in ſentiment from Zuinglius in maintaining that the euchariſt is ſomething more than a pious remembrance of Chriſt. He held that Chriſt is ſpiritually preſent in it, and that a divine virtue is thereby communicated to the worthy receiver. He alſo held the doctrine of predeſtination in the moſt rigid ſenſe, which Zuinglius never did.

Among the victims of Calvin's reſentment for a difference of opinion on this ſubject was Sebaſtian Caſtalio, maſter of the public ſchool at Geneva, an excellent ſcholar, and a man of great probity. In conſequence of his differing from Calvin on the ſubject of the divine decrees, he was depoſed from his office in A. D. 1544, and baniſhed the city. But he was received by the magiſtrates of Baſil, who gave him the Greek profeſſorſhip in that city. Ib. Vol. 4, p. 125.

Calvin's ſyſtem of church government was adopted by the *Reformed* in France, Holland, and Scotland, and alſo in the Palatinate, Bremen, and other places in Germany, but not in Swiſſerland, where an attachment to the ſyſtem of Zuinglius prevented it. But his doctrines reſpecting the euchariſt, and eſpecially predeſtination, prevailed

by his means, and thoſe of his followers, not only through Swifferland, but in moſt of the reformed churches.

SECTION IX.

Of the Anabaptiſts and Unitarians.

THE enormities of the Anabaptiſts who appeared in the time of Luther, were ſo ſhocking to every body, that long after the whole ſect were effectually recovered from them, they were regarded with a jealous eye, and conſidered as unworthy of toleration in moſt places; eſpecially as they ſtill retained their objection to oaths, thoſe to any government, as well as others. They held all penal laws, and even magiſtracy, to be unſuitable to the kingdom of Chriſt. They held war to be univerſally unlawful, and in any caſe to repel force with force. At length, however, their conduct being found by experience to be peaceable, and even entirely

entirely paſſive, they began to be received without diſtruſt; but during the whole of this period they were expoſed to great hardſhips.

Menno, who was conſidered as their chief, after a life of great labour, conſtantly removing from place to place, and expoſed to great danger, was at length received into the protection of a nobleman in the dutchy of Holſtein, where he died in A. D. 1561.

Tho' the antient Anabaptiſts, many of whom had endeavoured to overturn the government in ſeveral places in Holland, as well as at Munſter, were on that account held in great abhorrence; yet under William the prince of Orange, the founder of the Belgic liberties, and who had been aſſiſted by them with a conſiderable ſum of money, when his funds were almoſt exhauſted, they obtained a legal eſtabliſhment in the United Provinces, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of many of the clergy; but their liberty and tranquility were not fully eſtabliſhed till the year A. D. 1626, when by a public confeſſion of their faith they cleared themſelves of the things that were laid to their charge.

After many internal diviſions, which expoſed the Anabaptiſts to great inconvenience, and made them appear leſs reſpectable than they otherwiſe would have done, the greater part of them held an

amicable conference at Amſterdam in A. D. 1630; when they entered into a bond of fraternal communion, with allowance for ſome differences of opinion; and this was renewed and confirmed by thoſe of Flanders and Germany in A. D. 1649, when they mitigated and corrected, in various reſpects, the rigorous rules of Menno, and his ſucceſſors. Some of them, however, ſtill retained their original doctrines and practices, as that concerning the human nature of Chriſt, which they ſaid was not derived from the virgin Mary, the obligation to waſh the feet of ſtrangers, the neceſſity of excommunicating and avoiding all thoſe who departed from the ſimplicity of their anceſtors; their contempt of human learning, and other peculiarities of leſs moment. But in later times many of theſe relaxed with reſpect to them.

The Anabaptiſts have three orders in their clergy, 1ſt, biſhops or preſbyters, who preſide in their conſiſtories, and who alone adminiſter baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, 2dly teachers for public inſtruction, and 3dly deacons. Among the various ſects into which they are divided abroad, there are ſome who are called *Galeniſts*, from Galen Abraham Horan, a phyſician and paſtor of a Mennonite congregation at Amſterdam, a perſon of great ability and eloquence. Theſe deny the divinity of

of Chriſt, and agree in many things with the Socinians. They admit to their communion all who call themſelves chriſtians. *Moſheim*, Vol. 5, p. 50.

The Unitarians who took refuge in Poland and Tranſilvania at firſt joined other ſocieties who like themſelves had ſeparated from the church of Rome; but differing ſo widely from the Lutherans, and all the others, diſputes neceſſarily aroſe among them; and in a diet held at Petiſkow in A. D. 1565, the Unitarians were defired to ſeparate themſelves, and form ſocieties of their own. They were at that time commonly called *Pinczovians*, from the town in which the moſt eminent of them reſided; and they were generally Arians, maintaining that Chriſt was created before the formation of the world. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 179. But there were ſome among them who even denied the miraculous conception of Jeſus, and that any kind of worſhip ought to be paid to him. Theſe were called *Budneians*, from Simon Budneius, a miniſter of great acuteneſs and ſagacity.

Notwithſtanding theſe diviſions among themſelves, and their being expoſed to the ill offices of all the other reformers, the Unitarians ſoon formed ſeveral reſpectable ſocieties, as at Cracow, Lublin, Pinczow, Luck, Smilin, and other places in Poland and Lithuania; and John Sienienius Palatin of Podolia,

gave them in A. D. 1659 a ſettlement in the city of Racow, in the diſtrict of Sendomir, which they made the centre of all their ſocieties. Here they publiſhed in A. D. 1672 a tranſlation of the bible into the Poliſh language, and at Cracow in A. D. 1674 a catechiſm of their principles. This was compoſed by G. Schoman, and was remarkable for its ſimplicity. From the preface to this catechiſm it appears that they were then generally called Anabaptiſts, and with reſpect to baptiſm they were agreed with them. This catechiſm was however, not Arian; for in it Chriſt is conſidered as no more than a prophet, tho' he is ſaid to be entitled to adoration next to God; the Holy Spirit is ſaid to be a divine energy, and juſtification is ſaid to proceed from the free mercy of God to the penitent. It forbids the taking of oaths, or repelling of injuries; and the account of the euchariſt agrees with the doctrine of Zuinglius.

It was when things were in this ſtate, viz. in A. D. 1579 that Fauſtus Socinus arrived in Poland. He was born of honourable parents at Sienna in Italy in A. D. 1539, and loſing both his father and mother while he was very young, he had not in early life the advantage of a learned education, ſo that he was never taught the logic or philoſophy of the times, nor any thing of ſcholaſtic divinity. Till he was twenty he applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy

ſtudy of juriſprudence. But by the aſſiſtance of his uncle Lælius (which, however, appears to have been given him very ſparingly) he acquired ſome principles of religious knowledge, tho' it is ſaid that the uncle always expreſſed great confidence in the ſpirit and abilities of the nephew. Three years of his life Fauſtus ſpent in Switzerland, and the remainder of his life, which was thirty years, in voluntary exile.

He ſpent ſome time with his uncle in France, and having formed an acquaintance with the grand duke of Tuſcany, he lived twelve years in his court, diſtinguiſhed by the favour of that prince. But then, entering into ſerious conſideration on the value of the different objects of men's purſuit, he devoted himſelf to the propagation of religious truth; and deſpiſing the honours of this world, he retired into a country where he had a proſpect of meeting with leſs obſtruction to his views than in his native place. *Toulmin's Life of Socinus*, p. 3, &c.

In A. D. 1574 he went to Baſil, where he ſpent three years in the ſtudy of theology, aſſiſted by the writings and notes of his uncle. Here he engaged in ſeveral diſputations, both in converſation, and in writing, and here he wrote his book *De Servatore*. At this time there being much controverſy in the Unitarian churches of Tranſilvania about

the office and power of Chriſt, G. Blandrata ſent for Socinus, with a view to withdraw Francis David from his peculiar ſentiments; and for this purpoſe he procured him a lodging in the houſe of David, where he continued three quarters of a year, but without the wiſhed for ſucceſs. Socinus found the Unitarians in general much divided among themſelves, but by his addreſs and perſeverance, and recommending himſelf to the nobility, he gradually engaged them all to form one community, which was ſo much under his own direction, that from him they were generarally denominated *Socinians*.

From this time the number of Unitarians was much increaſed by proſelytes from all ranks. They then publiſhed a new catechiſm, called that of Racow, chiefly compoſed by Socinus. And what contributed to give the ſect greater celebrity, Jacob or Sienno, to whom Racow belonged, ſeparated from the Romiſh church, and openly embracing their communion, he made that city a public ſchool for the education of their miniſters. At Raccow they publiſhed many excellent writings, which were diſperſed in all parts of Europe, and not without making an impreſſion, tho' they no where procured them any firm eſtabliſhment. Many of theſe treatiſes were republiſhed in one body after the year A. D. 1656, and called *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polanorum*,

Polanorum. They contained the works of Socinus, Crellius, Slichtingius, and Wolzogenius.

Notwithſtanding a degree of union among the Unitarians, produced by the endeavours of Socinus, there remained conſiderable differences of opinion among them; ſome of them embracing the tenets of Budneius above mentioned; and others thoſe of Staniſlaus Farnovius, who with Goneſius preferred the Arian ſyſtem. Budneius had many diſciples in Lithuania and Ruſſian Poland, but his opinions giving great offence to the great body of Unitarians, he was depoſed from his miniſtry in A. D. 1584, and publicly excommunicated together with his diſciples. His doctrine was adopted by Francis David, a Hungarian, and ſuperintendant of the Unitarian churches in Tranſilvania, who very ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the paying of worſhip to Jeſus Chriſt. Blandrata uſed his utmoſt endeavours to engage him to change his opinion. But not yielding to any of his arguments, he was thrown into priſon by Chriſtopher Bathori prince of Tranſilvania, where he died in an advanced age in A. D. 1579.

His diſciples, were not, however, intimidated by this event, but continued firm in their oppoſition, which gave great uneaſineſs to Socinus and his adherents. But notwithſtanding the warm oppoſition that Socinus gave to the opinions of David,

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it appears from his writings that he did not think them any way dangerous, and on one occaſion he ſpeaks in the higheſt terms of the faith of thoſe who always addreſs themſelves immediately to God, without making uſe of any interceſſor whatever. It is too evident, however, that, like many other reformers, Socinus was unwilling to give any unneceſſary offence to the general body of chriſtians. On this principle, the Farnovians were never publicly cenſured by the Unitarians, but only adviſed not to publiſh their ſentiments from the pulpit. They ſeparated, however, from the body of Unitarians, in A. D. 1568, but many of them returned to their communion; and on the death of their leader in A. D. 1615, they ceaſed to be a ſeparate body. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 202.

The Unitarians had no great ſucceſs in their endeavours to propagate their doctrine beyond the bounds of Poland and Tranſilvania. But in the academy at Altorf, Erneſt Sohner, profeſſor of medicine and natural philoſophy, a man of great ability and addreſs and a zealous Unitarian, made, tho' in a private manner, many diſciples in that place. He dying in A. D. 1612 no farther progreſs was made; and in A. D. 1616 the Unitarians were diſcovered, and perſecuted by the magiſtrates of Nuremberg, on which many ſaved themſelves

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by flight, and the reſt conformed to the prevailing worſhip. *Ib.* Vol. 5, p. 53.

The tranquility of the Unitarians in Poland was not of long continuance. For ſome ſtudents at Racow having in A. D. 1638, imprudently thrown ſtones at a crucifix, and demoliſhed it, the catholics were ſo much provoked, that they procured an edict by which it was decreed that their academy ſhould be ſuppreſſed, their printing houſe deſtroyed, and their churches ſhut up; and nothing was able to prevent the execution of it in the utmoſt rigour. And becauſe they ſubmitted to the king of Sweden when he invaded Poland, and accepted of his protection, they were expoſed to great ravages from the Poliſh peaſants; and king Caſimir recovering his loſſes, publiſhed an edict in A. D. 1658, by which all the Unitarians were baniſhed for ever from the territory of Poland, and it was made a capital offence openly to profeſs their opinion, or to harbour their perſons; and tho' at firſt they were allowed three years to diſpoſe of their effects, this term was afterwards reduced to two.

In A. D. 1661, this ſevere edict was renewed, and all the Unitarians who had remained in Poland were driven out of the country, and neither ſickneſs, nor any other plea, was allowed to retard the execution of it. Had a ſingle deputy, it is

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ſaid, of the other Proteſtants at the diet proteſted againſt this cruel order, it could not have taken place; and about twenty years after, they were themſelves ſo reduced as to ſtand in need of the charitable aſſiſtance of foreigners. *Toulmin*, p. 274.

On this calamitous event the Unitarians were diſperſed into all the countries of Europe, but except in Tranſilvania they were no where publicly received, their toleration being oppoſed by every other denomination of chriſtians. Some, however remained in England, Pruſſia, and Brandenburg; but they could not openly profeſs their opinions, or form congregations.

There were Unitarians in England in this period as well as in other places, tho' but few of them were ſo conſpicuous as to be noticed by hiſtorians.

In A. D. 1575 twenty ſeven foreign Anabaptiſts were apprehended in a private houſe on Eaſter day, where they were aſſembled for worſhip. Of theſe four recanted, but the others, who were all Dutchmen, were ſentenced to be burned. Of thoſe nine were baniſhed, but two were actually burned in Smithfield, notwithſtanding an excellent Latin letter which Mr. Fox addreſſed to the queen in their favour. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 298.

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In A. D. 1612 Bartholemew Legat, called an Arian, ſaid to have been well verſed in the ſcriptures, and a man of unblamable converſation, being apprehended, king James himſelf conferred with him, in order to convince him of his error. This not ſucceeding, he was committed to Newgate, and after being examined before biſhop king at his conſiſtory at St. Paul's, was declared to be a contumacious and obſtinate heretic, and as ſuch he was burned at Smithfield on the 18th of March, amidſt a vaſt concourſe of people. A pardon was offered him when he was at the ſtake if he would recant, but he refuſed it. *Neal*, Vol. 2, p. 92.

The next month Edward Wightman of Burton upon Trent, was convicted of hereſy as an Arian and Anabaptiſt, before Dr. Neile, biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, and he was burned at Litchfield April 11. Another was condemned to the fire for the ſame hereſy, but the conſtancy of theſe ſufferers moved the compaſſion of the ſpectators ſo much, that it was thought more adviſable to keep him lingering out a miſerable life in Newgate. *Ib* Vol. 2, p. 93. But theſe cruelties did not ſuppreſs their opinions. In A. D. 1644 one Thomas Webb was impriſoned by order of the houſe of lords; and tho' he was releaſed on ſigning a recantation, he propagated his opinions afterwards, aſſerting that we ought not to ſay, "God

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"the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy "Ghoſt; for that was making three Gods. *Ibid*, Vol. 3, p. 514. *Supplement by Dr. Toulmin.*

In A. D. 1645 Paul Beſt was charged with ſaying that the doctrine of the trinity was the *myſtery of iniquity*, a three headed monſter, a tradition of Rome &c. and John Fry was charged before the houſe of commons in A. D. 1648, that he did not believe Chriſt to be God, and Mr. Nye declared that to his knowledge, the denial of the divinity of Chriſt was a growing opinion. *Neal*, Vol. 3, p. 515. *Supplement.* In A. D. 1683 John Lewis was burned at Norwich for denying the divinity of Chriſt. *Ib.* Vol. 1, p. 355.

To oppoſe the errors of Socinianiſm as well as thoſe of popery, and infidelity, a weekly lecture was ſet up at Pinner's hall every Tueſday morning. *Ib.* Vol. 4, 530.

For a ſhort time, in the interval between the death of Charles I, and the reſtoration, Mr. Biddle, a man of great learning and piety, who without having read any of the writings of the Unitarians, but from the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, embraced their ſentiments, formed a ſmall ſociety in London, and publiſhed ſome excellent tracts in ſupport of his opinions, being greatly favoured by Thomas Firman, an opulent merchant in London, one of the moſt intelligent, benevolent, and active of men.

But

But in A. D. 1648 the aſſembly of Preſbyterian divines then ſitting at Weſtminſter, procured an ordonance inflicting death on all who ſhould hold opinions contrary to the doctrine of the trinity. Biddle for ſome time eſcaped in the diſſentions of the times, but was afterwards thrown into priſon, and thereby reduced to great poverty. Being releaſed by the act of oblivion in A. D. 1650, he publiſhed other tracts in ſupport of his opinions, which giving great offence, he was, on complaint made againſt him in the houſe of commons, committed a cloſe priſoner, but after ſix months confinement he obtained his liberty in due courſe of law. His life was after this in danger from an accuſation on the ſtatute of blaſphemy; but Cromwell, not liking ſuch proceedings, baniſhed him to the iſle of Scilly, in A. D. 1655; but he was releaſed by habeas corpus in A. D. 1658. After the reſtoration, Biddle in A. D 1662, was again apprehended, and ſuffered ſo much by cloſe confinement, that he contracted a diſeaſe of which he died in A. D. 1662, in the forty ſeventh year of his age. *Life of Biddle.*

SECTION X.

Of the Proteſtants in France.

THE preceding period of our hiſtory left the kingdom of France in a ſtate of great diſtraction, thro' the alternate prevalence of the Catholic and Proteſtant parties in it, but it led to a ſcene of ſuch treachery and cruelty as is unparelelled in all hiſtory, eccleſiaſtical or civil.

The court of France, not having been able to ſubdue the Proteſtants by force, contrived to lull their ſuſpicions aſleep by a diſſembled reconciliation; and with this view nothing was ſpared to flatter and encourage them. But what ſeemed to put the ſincerity of the court out of all doubt, was the propoſal of the marriage of the king's daughter to the young king of Navarre, which took place on the 17th of Auguſt A. D. 1572, and was attended with every mark of feſtivity. Tho' many perſons could not help ſuſpecting ſome treachery, the heads

heads of the Proteſtant party were ſo deſirous of peace, and ſo void of bad intentions themſelves, that they gave no credit to thoſe who forewarned them of their danger.

The firſt meaſure that was taken by the court was to procure the aſſaſſination of Coligni. But tho' he was dangerouſly wounded by a man employed to ſhoot him, he eſcaped with life. The king affected ſo much concern on the occaſion, and expreſſed himſelf with ſo much kindneſs and confidence when he viſited him, that even this circumſtance was far from opening his eyes to his real ſituation, tho' it did thoſe of many of his friends. Then, having, on the pretence of greater ſecurity to them, got him and his principal friends to lodge in the ſame part of the city and aſſigned them a guard, a reſolution was taken to maſſacre all the Proteſtants in Paris in one night, the eve of St. Bartholemew, Auguſt 24th, which was a Sunday. They only excepted the king of Navarre, and the duke of Condè, on account of their youth and rank.

Every kind of preparation being made, the ſignal for the maſſacre was given by the ringing of the bells of St. Germain, when the duke of Guiſe, and other heads of the Catholic party, conducted the troops to the houſe of Coligni. The firſt notice he had of any murderous intention, was the death

of his porter; and while the reſt of his ſervants were making what defence they could, he went to prayers with his chaplain, and then addreſſed thoſe of his friends who were with him like a chriſtian not unwilling to die, but adviſed them as they could not ſave him, to ſave themſelves. When the door of his chamber was broken open, and one of them that ruſhed in aſked if he was Coligni, he ſaid that he was, adding; "young man, you ought to ſpare my grey hairs, but do what you will, you cannot ſhorten my life much;" on which, without making any reply, the aſſaſſin thruſt his ſword through his body. It was then thrown out of the window, and treated with every kind of indignity.

This firſt object being accompliſhed, it was followed by the murder of as many of the leaders of the Proteſtants as the Catholics could lay hold of; and as many of the common people as could be known to be of the ſame perſuaſion were alſo ſlain, the king himſelf firing from his window on ſuch of them as endeavoured to eſcape by croſſing the river. It was computed that not leſs than two thouſand men were maſſacred the firſt day. The ſame ſcene was acted on ſeveral days following, and the king by a public edict avowed himſelf the author of it. *

This

* It is not a little extraordinary that Ambroſe Paré,

This example ſet by Paris was ſoon followed in other cities, as Orleans, Lyons, Thouloufe, Rheims, and others; but the Governors of Provence and Dauphiné prevented theſe violences in that part of the country. Even ſmall villages did not eſcape this general maſſacre, ſo that it was ſuppoſed that, in all, not leſs than thirty thouſand periſhed in one way or other, tho' Thuanus thinks that account ſomething exaggerated. During this maſſacre at Paris, the king ſent for the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, and threatened them with death if they would not renounce their religion. But tho' they were very young, they had the firmneſs at that time not to comply, and the threat was not executed. At length, however, they yielded to the times, and pretended to be converted.

This maſſacre, it is not doubted, was in conſequence of a plan laid at the meeting of Bayonne,

the moſt celebrated ſurgeon in the ſixteenth century, and who in that capacity had ſerved king Henry II, gained the confidence of Charles IX to ſuch a degree, that he was the only perſon for whoſe ſafety he was intereſted in this maſſacre, and in conſequence of this he was ſpared. To expreſs his gratitude, he gave the moſt ſolicitous attention to the king's health.—*An Hiſtorical View of Surgery in the Medical and Phyſical Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 365.

and the principal promoters of it were the Guiſes, and the queen mother Catharine of Medicis. The king, tho' young, too readily entered into it. The impreſſion that a meaſure ſo unprecedented in hiſtory made on all the ſtates of Europe, was, as may be imagined, very great. The Proteſtants were every where ſtruck with deteſtation and horror, but not with deſpair. On the contrary, they were inflamed with a greater degree of averſion to the religion and policy of the court of Rome than ever, and were inſpired with a more determined reſolution to live and die in their principles. The more moderate Catholics condemned this violence, but the majority probably rejoiced in it. They had been long uſed to the ſhedding of blood, and the uſe of torture, to promote their religion, and had been accuſtomed to the moſt dreadful ſpectacles of this kind. And tho' the moſt undiſguiſed treachery, as well as cruelty, was employed on this occaſion, they would too naturally think that ſo good an end would ſanctify any means. The pope, they believed, had the power to abſolve from oaths, and every other moral obligation, and faith was not to be kept with heretics.

When the news of this maſſacre arrived at Rome, it occaſioned the moſt exceſſive joy. The letter of the pope's nuncio at the court of France on the ſubject was read in an aſſembly of cardinals

on

on the 6th of September, informing them that the ſcheme was projected by the king; and it was immediately reſolved that the pope, accompanied by the cardinals, ſhould go to the church of St. Mary to give God thanks in the moſt ſolemn manner for the ſingular favour he had ſhewn to the holy ſee, and all chriſtendom; and that on the Monday following a ſolemn maſs ſhould be performed on the occaſion, when the pope and the cardinals ſhould attend, and that an univerſal jubilee ſhould be publiſhed. In the evening the guns of St. Angelo were fired, and bonfires were made in all the ſtreets. In ſhort, nothing was omitted that was uſual on occaſions of the greateſt victories, and the moſt ſignal advantages to the holy ſee. *

* That the court of Rome countenanced this perſecution of the Proteſtants, and even ſcrupled no means whatever to promote it, was ſufficiently evident before this cataſtrophe. In February A. D. 1564 Charles IX of France received an embaſſy from the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy, requeſting, among other things, that he would repeal the act of grace granted to the Reformed by the edict of peace, and puniſh thoſe who ſhould be found guilty of high treaſon againſt God; becauſe ſuch crimes being committed not againſt princes, but againſt God, to him alone it belonged to forgive them. *Laval* Vol. 3, p. 44.

The cardinal of Lorrain, who was then at Rome, was ſo tranſported with joy, that he gave a thouſand crowns of gold to the perſon who brought him the news; and on his propoſal two days after, a proceſſion was made to the church of St. Lewis, when there was a great concourſe of nobility and common people. The biſhops and cardinals walked at the head, after them the ambaſſadors of crowned heads, then the pope under a canopy, attended by the cardinal deacons, among whom Innocent Del Monto held the firſt place, inſtead of the cardinal Louis d'Eſt, who was then in France. The emperor's ambaſſador carried the pope's train; this being the moſt honourable function, and always belonging to the emperor, as the firſt of chriſtian princes. The light horſe cloſed the cavalcade. When they were arrived at the church, the cardinal of Lorrain performed maſs with the greateſt pomp, and the church was ornamented with more magnificence than uſual. On the door there was an inſcription, ſignifying that the cardinal of Lorrain, in the name of the moſt chriſtian king, gave God thanks, and congratulated the holy father pope Gregory XIII, the ſacred college of cardinals, the ſenate, and people of Rome "for the "aſtoniſhing and incredible ſucceſs of the councils "of the holy ſee, the ſuccours that he had ſent, "and the prayers which his holineſs had ordered

"for

"for twelve years." After theſe rejoicings the pope ſent a legate to France, and gave him the croſs in a ſolemn manner, as a mark of diſtinguiſhed honour.

Grateful as this event was to the zealous Catholics, it was neceſſary for the king of France to make an apology for it to ſeveral of the ſovereign powers of Europe; but with this I ſhall not trouble my readers.

The Catholics were far from gaining any thing by this horrible act even in France. The maſſacre at Paris was a torment to the king even to his laſt breath. His countenance was quite altered, and he became much more moroſe than before. His mother and his bloody counſellors were the objects of his utmoſt hatred. And what added to his ſorrow was to find himſelf deceived in his expectations, the Reformed being much increaſed, inſtead of being reduced, by the meaſure. *Laval*, Vol. 3, p. 450.

After a ſhort time, numbers of the Proteſtants appeared in arms, and the civil wars revived with as much obſtinacy as ever, and terminated in the acceſſion of Henry IV, then a Proteſtant, to the throne of France.

Henry III being joined by the king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV, was an object of deteſtation to all the more zealous Catholics, and

when he was murdered by an enthuſiaſtic friar, nothing was ſeen in the ſtreets of Paris, but feaſting, dancing, and other demonſtrations of joy. Clement, the aſſaſſin, was ſainted, prayers were put up for him, his images and ſtatues at full length were adored; his mother and other relations who came to Paris at that time, were enriched by the free gifts they received from the people of all ranks. *Ib.* Vol. 5, p. 15.

Sextus V approved of the murder of Henry III, and in a ſpeech on the occaſion in the conclave of cardinals, applied to it theſe words of Habakkuk, 1, 5. "I have wrought a work in "your days, which you will not believe, tho' it be "told you. *Ibid*, Vol. 4, p. 574.

After the acceſſion of Henry IV, he pretended at leaſt to be converted, and reigning in peace, he granted to his Proteſtant ſubjects the full enjoyment of their liberties in the famous *edict of Nantes*. By this edict not only was liberty of conſcience granted to the Proteſtants, but free admiſſion to places of honour and emolument, and alſo to the public univerſities. They were likewiſe allowed to retain ſeveral fortified places, eſpecially La Rochelle.

Theſe terms were granted when the Proteſtants were very numerous and formidable; but it could not be expected that two independent powers ſhould

continue

continue long in the ſame country. As the court and catholic party became ſtronger, they laid hold of every pretence for oppreſſing their opponents; and for this ſome handle was given by the Proteſtants courting the alliance and friendſhip of foreign ſtates, as England and Holland. This gave great umbrage to the crown, and inſtigated Richelieu, prime miniſter to Lewis XIII, to make it a principal object of his policy to reduce them; and in A. D. 1628 Rochelle, after a long and memorable ſiege, was taken, and annexed to the crown of France.

From this time the power of the Proteſtants rapidly declined, and they were by degrees deprived of both their civil and religious privileges, eſpecially in the ſucceeding reign of Lewis XIV. The laſt of their national ſynods was held in A. D. 1659. Another was fixed to meet three years after this, but it was not permitted, thoſe in different provinces being forbidden to have any correſpondence with one another. *Laval*, Vol. 6, p. 1076. And after a ſeries of meaſures, all of which were violations of the moſt ſolemn engagements, the edict of Nantes, which the king had ſworn to preſerve inviolate, was repealed in A. D. 1685. This was done at the inſtigation of the Jeſuits, who had been uncommonly irritated at the execution of five of their order in England. The principal

cipal actor in this buſineſs was La Chaiſe, the king's confeſſor, who made him believe it was an act of the greateſt merit, and by which he would acquire the greateſt glory.

From the year A. D. 1656, the king undertook to weaken the Proteſtant intereſt by reducing them to the preciſe terms of the edict of Nantes; and for this purpoſe a declaration in A. D. 1661 directed commiſſioners to go into all the provinces, to take an account of all innovations, and reduce every thing to its former ſituation. Eighteen or twenty different arrets were iſſued with this view, the parliament always ſeconding the views of the king; and whatever the clergy thought to be neceſſary to prepare the way for the revocation of the edict of Nantes was always done. *Memoires Chronologiques*, Vol. 3, p. 56.

In A. D. 1665 there was iſſued a declaration, containing forty nine articles, the principal of which were the following. "The Proteſtant miniſters were forbidden to preach in any place "which had not been appropriated to that uſe, to "ſay any thing contrary to the catholic religion, to "take the title of *paſtors*, inſtead of *miniſters of* "*the pretended reformed religion*, to appear in the "habit of clergymen, except in a place of worſhip, "to marry any catholic, to have any correſpon-"dence with their brethren in other provinces, to

"hold

"hold any aſſembly except the national ſynod; "and that only with the king's permiſſion, and in "the preſence of his commiſſary, or to bury in ca- "tholic burying ground. When there was any "proceſſion before their churches they were order- "ed to ceaſe from ſinging hymns; and if they "met the hoſt, they were either to withdraw, or "put themſelves into a poſture of reſpect. Chil- "dren whoſe parents either were, or had been, "catholic, were to be brought up in that religion, "tho' the mothers were of the reformed; and they "were alſo ordered to obſerve all the feſtivals of "the catholics, by not ſelling, or working in open "ſhops on thoſe days. *Ib.* p. 94."

In A. D. 1680 the Calviniſts were forbidden to take any farms or ſubfarms, and by another arret the ſame year all Catholics were forbidden to embrace calviniſm under the penalty of perpetual baniſhment; and proteſtant miniſters were ordered not to receive any converts under the penalty of diſcontinuing their functions. This declaration was followed by ſeveral others, in conſequence of which a great number of churches ſaid to have been built contrary to the edict of Nantes were pulled down. This ſufficiently alarming the Proteſtants, and ſhewing them what they had to expect; ſo that great numbers of them prepared to

leave

leave the kingdom, a declaration was iſſued May 18, A. D. 1682, by which all ſeamen and artiſans were forbidden to go to any other country, under the penalty of being ſent to the gallies for life, and a fine of not leſs than three thouſand livres to thoſe who ſhould favour their eſcape. The retreat of ſome perſons of better condition occaſioned the iſſuing of another arret the 14th of July, which made the prohibition to leave the kingdom general. At the ſame time it annulled all contracts of the ſales they might make of their property, and confiſcated their effects. *Ib.* vol. 3, p. 169.

In aid of thoſe meaſures of the court to extinguiſh the Proteſtant party, the prelates of the kingdom, in A. D. 1682, addreſſed a paſtoral letter to them, expoſtulating with them on the ſubject of the ſchiſm they made in the church. This was required to be ſigned by all the conſiſtories in the kingdom, and the clergy had pointed out to them ſixteen arguments by which they might effectually promote the converſion of the Proteſtants, extracted from the works of their moſt celebrated controverſial writers. This was accompanied by two letters from the king, in which they were exhorted to do evey thing in their power to promote the deſign, but only in the uſe of argument and perſuaſion.

Some

Some Calviniſts in Dauphinè, and other places in the ſouth of France, holding their aſſemblies where they had been forbidden, and defending themſelves, this hiſtorian ſays, with arms, they were ſoon reduced, and ſome of their miniſters were executed. Others were puniſhed by having ſoldiers quartered in their houſes, by which they were greatly diſtreſſed. This meaſure being found beſt to anſwer the views of the court, it was afterwards carried to a greater extent.

The Calviniſt miniſters, rouſed by theſe meaſures, the object of which was the extermination of their religion, exerted themſelves to the utmoſt to prevent the deſertion of their flocks, by publiſhing anſwers to the arguments of their opponents, and going from houſe to houſe to diſſuade perſons from apoſtatizing; but notwithſtanding this many were gained by the court.

The writings of the Calviniſts giving great offence to the Catholics, complaint was made of it, and an edict was iſſued Auguſt 23d, forbidding them not only to preach, but alſo to publiſh, any thing againſt the catholic religion; and before they had time to expreſs what they felt on this occaſion; it was followed two months after by the revocation of the edict of Nantes; by which this writer ſays, Lewis the great acquired with true Catholics as much honour as the great Conſtantine did by the extirpation

extirpation of paganiſm. *Ib.* Vol. 3, p. 247, 362. Tho' it is now conſidered in France, as well as elſewhere, an act of the moſt egregious folly, for its impolicy, as well as its bigotry and cruelty.

Before this act the writer ſays, by a number of other edicts cloſely following one another, nothing but the ſhadow of the edict of Nantes remained. The Proteſtants had been excluded from all offices of judicature, and the exerciſe of many profeſſions, the greater part of their churches were demoliſhed, their miniſters did not appear in public, every child that ſhewed the leaſt wiſh to become a Catholic, was taken from its parents, and the hope of reward, and the dread of impending evils, had brought over a great number of adults. There were few, he ſays, who did not yield to the obligation of lodging ſoldiers. This military expedient was begun in Bearn, but was ſoon extended through all the kingdom, the truce that was made with Spain favouring the meaſure. When things were in this proſperous train, he ſays the chancellor urged the king to ſtrike the final blow, and cut off the head of the hydra. His age and infirmities made him ardently wiſh for an act which would reſtore the catholic religion to all its rights; and when he had ſet his ſeal to it, he cryed out in the language of Simeon, "Now letteſt thou thy ſervant depart in

"peace,

"peace, for my eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation," juſtly ſays this hiſtorian, regarding this laſt act as the happieſt and moſt brilliant in his life.

By this act all that remained of the Proteſtant churches were demoliſhed. They were forbidden to aſſemble for the exerciſe of their religion even in private houſes, and the miniſters who would not conform to the eſtabliſhed religion were required to leave the kingdom in fifteen days after the publication of the edict. At the ſame time conſiderable advantages were promiſed to thoſe who would conform, as an exemption from the taille, from the lodging of ſoldiers; and during their life they were allowed one third more than their former ſalaries. All who were not miniſters were forbidden to leave the country, or to remove any of their effects out of it, under the penalty of the gallies for the men, and the confiſcation of body and goods for the women.

Tho' all the miniſters who would not conform to the eſtabliſhed religion, were now ordered to leave the country, the time allowed for this was ſo ſhort, that great numbers were apprehended in their attempts to eſcape; and for this were ſentenced to the moſt cruel puniſhments. Many were ſent to the gallies along with the moſt abandoned criminals, and ſome to ſolitary dungeons for life; ſo that, directly and indirectly, this proved to

be as ſevere a perſecution as the Proteſtants ever experienced from the Catholics, or the chriſtians from the heathens.

The king was led to believe that, beſides gaining immortal honour by an action highly pleaſing to God, and to all good chriſtians, he would eſſentially promote the intereſt of his country. But by the emigration of ſuch a number of his moſt uſeful ſubjects, and the loſs of the wealth which they contrived to carry with them, it proved to be the heavieſt calamity that ever befell that country; eſpecially as many of the emigrants were manufacturers, and carried their arts into other countries, as England, Holland, and Pruſſia, where they were moſt hoſpitably received. The approbation with which this meaſure was received at Rome, and by the Catholics in general, is a moſt ſtriking proof of the perſecuting ſpirit of that church in this period.

On this revocation of the edict of Nantes, a panegyric was pronounced on the king by father Quartier, a Jeſuit, in the college of Lewis the great. The room was ornamented with devices and inſcriptions prepared for the occaſion, and an account of them, with explanations of them in Latin and French verſe, was given by another Jeſuit, Le Jay, in a work publiſhed at Paris in A. D. 1687, dedicated to the king. From this we learn that

that the entrance into the room in which the harangue was pronounced, repreſented a triumphal arch of the Tuſcan order. Religion holding in her right hand a cup on which was a luminous hoſt, and having the Holy Spirit over her head, appeared in the moſt elevated ſituation, on a car drawn by two white horſes. On the pedeſtal was the king with a ſceptre in his hand, to ſhew, they ſay, that the juſtice and authority of his edicts were the only arms he made uſe of to deſtroy hereſy, which was repreſented at his feet in the form of a hydra. On the table of the pedeſtal was the inſcription, *Religione ſub Ludovico Magno triumphante.* The whole of this picture, of which theſe are but a few particulars, is curious. The emblems that adorned the room, of which this work contains an engraved ſketch, were twenty two, with a motto adapted to each, and the complimentary inſcriptions were thirteen. One of them is *Ludovico Magno quod obſtinatam hæreſim ſolo militum ſtrepitu religioni docilem fecit.* It does not ſeem poſſible to carry adulation higher than in this exhibition, had he rendered the moſt ſignal ſervice to religion and to his country; tho' it is now ſufficiently evident that by this edict he had done an eſſential injury to both.

On the 25th of October there appeared two other edicts, the one to forbid the exerciſe of the re-

formed religion on board of ſhips, and to prevent ſeamen from favouring the emigration of Proteſtants, and the other to grant to thoſe who gave information of their eſcape one half of their property. But even theſe precautions, our hiſtorian ſays, did not prevent the emigration of many thouſands, men and women, eſpecially into England, Holland, Denmark and Pruſſia. More than ſix hundred miniſters had fled before.

Theſe refugees promiſed themſelves that ſomething would be ſtipulated in their favour at the peace of Ryſwick in A. D. 1697. But whatever might paſs in the negociation, they were not ſo much as mentioned in the treaty. A number of them took it for granted that they might have liberty to ſettle in the principality of Orange, which was ceded to king William; but Lewis forbad any Proteſtant under pain of death to ſettle there, and ordered all that had gone thither to remove in ſix months. And in the year following, in order to undeceive any who had formed expectations of favour, he iſſued another decree, by which he again forbad all exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion, all correſpondence with Proteſtant miniſters, and all their aſſemblies under any pretext whatever. He ordered the ſtricteſt conformity to the rules of the church with reſpect to public worſhip, marriages, and baptiſms; and directed that every child ſhould be

be baptized in the pariſh church within twenty four hours of the birth, without an expreſs order of the biſhop to defer it.

The cruelties exerciſed on the Reformed in France, even prior to the revocation of the edict of Nantes will hardly be believed of a nation ſo far advanced as the French nation then was in civilization. For humanity is always expected to accompany politeneſs. But when a peace was concluded with Spain, ſoldiers, chiefly dragoons, were diſperſed through the country, authoriſed to live at free quarter on all who would not conform to the eſtabliſhed religion; and to ſucceed in this they, at the inſtigation of a bigotted clergy, were guilty of the moſt ſhocking cruelties.

Beſides plundering their houſes, they exerciſed the moſt inhuman torments. To ſome they ſent drummers who beat night and day to prevent their getting any reſt. Others, and even perſons of quality, they compelled to turn ſpits till they were almoſt roaſted. Sometimes they heated bars of iron, and made them put their naked feet upon them, till they promiſed to go to maſs. Others they put into deep wells till they were almoſt killed with cold, and tormented them in other ways too tedious to relate. Great numbers were put to death ſecretly, others periſhed in cold and noiſome dungeons, and ſome they tranſported to

Canada, but it is thought that they were generally drowned when they were out at ſea. *Memoirs of Cavallier*, p. 3.

In the borough of Hypolite only, the dragoons compelled the inhabitants to pay two hundred and forty four thouſand livres. No leſs than ſeven thouſand, perſons men, women, and children, periſhed in the ſouthern provinces in the ſpace of a year and an half, moſt of them murdered by the ſoldiers in cold blood. A great number were executed by the hangman, ſome broken alive upon the wheel, ſome beheaded, and others hanged; beſides ſeveral thouſand ſent either to the gallies, or into dungeons, nunneries and other places. Except one hundred and twenty, who choſe to ſell their lives as dearly as they could at Bourdeaux in Dauphiné in Auguſt A. D. 1683, all the reſt made no reſiſtance. *Laval*, Vol. 6, p. 1080.

Tho' it is impoſſible not to be ſenſible of the ſhocking injuſtice of the court of France to its Proteſtant ſubjects, it muſt be acknowledged that various diſorders had crept in among them, and that they themſelves were not free from the ſpirit of perſecution. At the ſynod of Ales in A. D. 1621, eight miniſters were depoſed, ſix of them for adultery, and other crimes no leſs heinous. *Ib.* Vol. 6, p. 786.

The

The king of Navarre declared to the archbiſhop of Vienne, that he would endeavour to the utmoſt of his power to baniſh not only out of his kingdom, but out of the world, if it was poſſible, all falſe religion. Theſe words being blotted out of his memorial by ſome miniſters, he cauſed them to be reſtored between the lines. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 164.

The miniſters of the Reformed in France in A. D. 1563, requeſted that, in order to prevent the propagation of hereſy, and monſtrous opinions, the king would be pleaſed to receive into his royal protection the confeſſion of faith tendered to him in A. D. 1561, and the profeſſors of it; and to provide that atheiſts, libertines, Anabaptiſts, and Servetiſts ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed. *Ib.* Vol. 2, p. 253.

The count of Ventadour requeſted of the king of France in A. D. 1576, that, in order to avoid atheiſm and irreligion, every Frenchman ſhould be obliged to chuſe one of the two religions, the Catholic, or the Reformed, and make a public profeſſion of it. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 107.

At Beaugency near Orleans, one John Bonneau, and three others, maintained that it was not lawful for the civil magiſtrate to puniſh heretics. To remedy this, the hiſtorian, ſuppoſed to

be Beza, ſays, a conſiſtory was called, and theſe men being heard, the contrary, he ſays, was proved to them by ſuch ſtrong reaſons, grounded on the word of God, that Bonneau renounced his opinion immediately, and ſubſcribed with his own hand the reverſe of what he had maintained; and ſoon after was ſent to Bretagne to exerciſe his miniſtry there. The others, after being diſcourſed with privately by the miniſters, yielded at laſt. With what little reaſon could theſe men complain of the perſecution which fell upon themſelves?

At a ſynod of the Reformed in France in A. D. 1571, the tenets of Socinus were condemned, and deteſted; and the biſhops of England were deſired to ſuppreſs the books of the ſaid heretics, which began to be in vogue in that country. *Ib.* Vol. 3, p. 355. John du Bard, a Socinian miniſter, who had publiſhed and defended his tenets at Poitiers, retracted, and abjured his errors in a full ſynod of the Reformed in A. D. 1565.

According to the great ſcheme of Henry IV, only three religions were to be tolerated in Europe, the Catholic, the Proteſtant, and that of the Reformed.

The Reformed in France were friends to the

arbitrary

arbitrary powers of the crown, while the Jeſuits maintained the rights of the people. Du Pleſſis, in a letter to the king, dated January the 16th, A. D. 1616, ſaid, it was always his opinion that between God and the king there was no other power that could order to the prejudice of the king's authority; that they had loſt two kings in the ſpace of twenty years through maxims contrary to that article, and therefore wanted better precautions to preſerve the third. *Ibid*, Vol. 6, p. 644.

SECTION XI.

Of the ſtate of the Reformed in the Netherlands and the United States.

THE Catholics in this period had the better pretence for perſecuting the Proteſtants, as the great body of them held the ſame perſecuting principles; thinking it to be the duty of the magiſtrate to take cognizance of hereſy; not conſidering that if he take cognizance of it, and puniſh it, he muſt act according to his own judgment, and puniſh whatever HE, and not any other, ſhall think to be hereſy. There were not wanting, however, ſome, in this as well as every other period, who pleaded the juſt rights of conſcience againſt the uſurpation of the civil magiſtrate, but they were of the minority who were expoſed to perſecution.

In A. D. 1563 the Proteſtants, or as they were then called the *Reformed*, or the *Calviniſts*, in the Low Countries publiſhed a confeſſion of their

their faith in thirty ſeven articles, accompanied with a remonſtrance to the magiſtrates, in which, after ſtating that "the moſt antient doctors had "taught that conſcience ought not to be moleſted, "and much leſs forced by any power on earth; "for that the ſword was given to the magiſtrate "only to puniſh robbers, murderers, and other "diſturbers of civil government; that in matters "of religion, or things that concern only the ſoul, "no other means ought to be uſed but the ſpiritual "ſword, or the word of God," they ſay "We do "not go ſo far as thoſe good Fathers. We ac- "knowledge that the magiſtrates may take cogni- "zance of heretics. They occaſion diſorders a- "mong the people." They add, however, that, "the judges ought to be ſure, and perfectly con- "vinced by the word of God, that a doctrine is "impious and heretical, before they ſtretch out "their hands to puniſh the accuſed perſon." *Brandt*, Vol. *1*, p. 97.

To this our author ſubjoins a caſe that occurred among the Reformed in France, which ſhews that the ſame ſentiments prevailed there. The firſt prince of Orange, who appears to have had juſt ideas on this ſubject, had much trouble with the Calviniſt miniſters, who were ever ready to perſecute their opponents, Lutherans, Anabap-

tiſts or Catholics. It was with great difficulty, and not without incurring much odium, that he was able to prevent it.

In Holland the Reformed, having the power of government in their own hands, had, in this period, an opportunity of ſhewing their perſecuting principles, which they did not neglect. Though they bordered on Germany, they adopted the ſyſtem of Calvin, in preference to that of Luther. This was decided, after much debating on the ſubject, in A. D 1571. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 100.

The occaſion which called forth the ſpirit of perſecution in Holland, was the Arminian controverſy, with which that country was much agitated in this period. It was ſo called from James Arminius, a profeſſor of divinity at Leyden, a man univerſally allowed to have been poſſeſſed of great piety and candour. Tho' educated at Geneva, Arminius conceived a diſlike of the doctrine of predeſtination, and others connected with it, conſiſting of *five articles*, generally called the *five points*; and there not being at that time any law enforcing the belief of them, he openly taught the contrary, tho' to the great offence of his colleague, Francis Gomar.

All that the Armenians pleaded for was a free toleration; and for ſome time Maurice prince of Orange, and his mother, favoured their plea, and

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endeavoured to promote peace by conferences and other methods; and ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters in the country, as Barneveldt, Grotius, and Hoogerbeets, took their part. But theſe and other Arminians, called alſo *Remonſtrants* (from a remonſtrance which they preſented to the States of Holland in A. D. 1610) oppoſing Maurice in his political views, he became their open enemy. Barneveldt was executed as a ſtate criminal, and Grotius and Hoogerbeets were ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment.

At length, in order to ſettle the controverſy on the ſubject of the five points, a ſynod was, by the direction of Maurice, convened at Dort in A. D. 1618, and it was attended by deputies from the United Provinces, and alſo by divines from England, Swiſſerland, and ſeveral ſtates of Germany. Before this aſſembly the cauſe of the Arminians was ably ſupported by Simon Epiſcopius, a profeſſor of divinity at Leyden, a man of great learning and eloquence. But not being allowed, as perſons accuſed of hereſy, to oppugn the ſyſtem of their adverſaries, with which they propoſed to begin the buſineſs, and as they had been promiſed in their ſummons to attend the ſynod the liberty of "explaining and defending their opinions, as "far as they thought proper and neceſſary to their "juſtification," they refuſed to take any other courſe

courſe, and were thereon excluded from the aſſembly, in which Bogerman, their profeſſed enemy, preſided, as moderator. And in their abſence their doctrines were voted to be peſtilential errors. After this the Arminians were deprived of all employments civil and eccleſiaſtical, their miniſters were ſilenced, and their congregations ſuppreſſed. Refuſing to comply with the orders that were given for this purpoſe, they were treated with great rigour, and puniſhed by fines, impriſonment, and other ways. To avoid this, many of them fled to Antwerp, and ſome to France, where alſo Grotius eſcaping from priſon took refuge. Many, on the invitation of Frederic duke of Holſtein, formed a colony in his ſtates, where they built a handſome town, and called it Fredericſtadt. In this colony was Vorſtius, whoſe religious ſentiments were ſuppoſed not to differ from thoſe of the Unitarians.

Arminius died before theſe troubles in A. D. 1611, and they ceaſed in a great meaſure on the death of Maurice in A. D. 1625, when his brother and ſucceſſor Frederic Henry procured the recall of the Armenians, and their toleration in Holland. On this they not only opened their congregations, but eſtabliſhed a college at Amſterdam, where Epiſcopius was the firſt profeſſor of divinity. His

chair

chair was afterwards filled by other perſons eminent for their learning and ability, as Curcellæus, Limborch, Le Clerc, and Wetſtein.

Notwithſtanding this ſolemn condemnation of the Arminian doctrines at the ſynod of Dort, and the decline of their congregations, it is acknowledged that from that time they gained ground both in Holland and other countries. In A. D. 1675 Henry Heydegger, profeſſor of divinity at Zurich, was employed by an aſſembly of Helvetic divines, to draw up a form of doctrine agreeable to the decrees of the ſynod, but much diſſention being occaſioned by the meaſure, and many declaring they could not ſubſcribe to it, the Cantons of Baſil and the Genevans, on the interpoſition of Frederic William elector of Brandenburgh, in A. D. 1686, generally deſiſted from requiring the ſubſcription, tho', in other cantons it was retained much longer.

In England the clergy in general, encouraged by the archbop Laud, openly profeſſed themſelves Arminians; and ſo they continue to this day, tho' the articles of their church, which they all ſubſcribe, remain Calviniſtical. And what is of moſt conſequence, from this time the univerſal toleration of all opinions conſiſtent with the peace of ſociety, to which the Armenians pleaded, became generally approved of.

During

During the height of the Arminian controverſy in A. D. 1619, a religious ſociety was formed at Rheinſberg in the neighbourhood of Leyden, called *Collegiants*, from their calling their places of worſhip colleges, by three brothers of the name of Vander Kodde, men of eminent piety, and well acquainted with ſacred literature, but averſe to all controverſy. They admitted into their ſociety without ſcruple all chriſtians, whatever were their opinions. Their meetings for public worſhip were held twice a week, on Sundays and Thurſdays, when every perſon had a right to give his ſentiments in explanation of a certain portion of ſcripture which had been given out before hand. They held a general aſſembly twice a year at Rheinſberg, where they have convenient houſes for the education of orphans, and the reception of ſtrangers. Here they continue four days, which are employed in diſcourſes, chiefly ſuch as tend to inculcate the principles of brotherly love. On theſe occaſions the Lord's ſupper is adminiſtered, and alſo baptiſm, by immerſion. Their number are very conſiderable in Holland, Utrecht, and Friezland. Thoſe who reſide in Friezeland have an annual meeting at Leewarden, being at too great a diſtance from Rheinſberg. *Moſheim*, Vol. 5, p. 59.

Among the enthuſiaſts who appeared in this in this part of Europe, we muſt mention

tion a ſmall ſociety formed by John Labbadie, and called after his name. He was a native of France, and had been a Jeſuit; but leaving that ſociety, he became a member of the reformed church, and preached with reputation in France, Swiſſerland, add Holland; and at length he formed a new ſociety at Middleburg, then at Amſterdam, then at Weſtphalia, and laſtly in A. D. 1672, at Altena, where he died two years after.

Among other peculiarities he held that "the "contemplative life is a ſtate of grace and union "with God, and the height of perfection; that the "chriſtian whoſe mind is contented and calm ſees "all things in God, enjoys the deity, and is per- "fectly indifferent about every thing that paſſes "in the world, and that he arrives at this ſtate by "ſelf denial and mental prayer." The Quakers made ſeveral attempts to get Labbadie to join their ſociety, but without effect. The principal ornament of this ſmall ſect was Anne Maria Schurman, of Utrecht, a woman of conſiderable note in the republic of letters. *Moſheim*, Vol. 5, p. 64.

Another woman who diſtinguiſhed herſelf in the ſame way was Antoinette de Bourignon, a native of Flanders, who pretended to divine inſpiration, and whoſe writings were much admired by many learned and ingenious perſons. She held that "chriſtianity conſiſts neither in knowledge nor

"practice, but in a certain internal feeling, and "divine impulſe, which ariſes immediately from "communion with the deity." Her principal admirer was Peter Poiret, a man of genius, and an eminent Carteſian. *Ib.* p. 66.

Holland was much agitated during this period by the advocates for the Carteſian philoſophy, which they applied to matters of theology, and their opponents, headed by Girbert Voet, a profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of Utrecht. The Carteſian ſyſtem was maintained by the diſciples of Cocceius, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many ſingular opinions, eſpecially concerning the typical ſignification of many things in the Old Teſtament, which ſpread not only through Holland but even into Germany.

That there were ſome, and probably a conſiderable number of Unitarians, in the early part of this period, in this part of Europe, is evident from the account that Brandt gives of the behaviour of Herman Van Fleckwick of Dort, who before his execution in A. D. 1569, appeared by his anſwers to the inquiſitor to be of that perſuaſion. The whole of this examination deſerves attention, tho' I ſhall recite only a few particulars of it.

Inquiſitor. Do you not believe that Chriſt is the ſecond perſon in the holy trinity?

Fleckwick.

Fleckwick. We never call things but as they are called in the holy ſcriptures.

Inq. Do not the ſcriptures mention God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt?

Fl. The ſcriptures ſpeak only of one God, the Son of God, and the Holy Spirit.

Inq. Chriſt ſays, *I and my Father are one.*

Fl. Chriſt ſays alſo *that they all may be one, as thou father art in me, and I in thee, that they alſo may be one in us.*

Inq. I repeat it again Chriſt the ſecond perſon of the deity, or of the holy trinity, was made man. You refuſe to call him God.

Fl. I call him the *ſon of the living God* as Peter does, and *the Lord*, as the other apoſtles call him. He is called in the Acts of the apoſtles, *Jeſus of Nazareth whom God raiſed from the dead*, and Paul calls him the *man by whom God ſhall judge the world.*

It appears, however, that Fleckwick, as well as many other Anabaptiſts of this period, held that the body of Chriſt was not derived from his mother. For he ſays, "we believe that the body of "Chriſt was not earthly, like that of Adam, but that he is a heavenly man, as Paul ſays. Fleckwick having argued that if the three perſons be but one God, and the virgin Mary be the mother of God, ſhe muſt be the mother of the Father, and of the

Holy Ghoſt, as well as of the Son, the inquiſitor concluded with ſaying; "May you be roaſted in "hell, you wicked and abominable Unitarian. "You would make a hundred thouſand doctors of "divinity mad."

SECTION XII.

Of the Puritans and other Sects in England.

OF thoſe who fled from the perſecution in the reign of queen Mary ſome adhered to the liturgy which had been uſed in the time of king Edward, and preferred the ſyſtem of diſcipline by biſhops, which had been then eſtabliſhed. But others of them preferred that of Geneva; and during their exile, and eſpecially at Frankfort, where a great number of them reſided, they had frequent and warm diſputes on the ſubject.

After their return, on the acceſſion of queen Elizabeth, each party endeavoured to get their peculiar

culiar ſyſtem eſtabliſhed; but the queen who had a leaning to the ceremonies, tho' not to the doctrines, of popery, not only took the part of the former, but by the moſt rigorous meaſures endeavoured to ſuppreſs the latter; who holding what they called a purer ſyſtem, farther removed from popery, obtained the appellation of *Puritans*. As the ſuffering of theſe people is a ſtriking inſtance of the perſecution of Proteſtants by Proteſtants, who were acknowledged not to differ from one another in any thing eſſential, as it was of long continuance, and had remarkable conſequences, I ſhall recite the particulars at ſome length.

In conſequence of the *act of ſupremacy*, which gave the queen the ſame power with reſpect to religion that had been poſſeſſed by Henry VIII and king Edward, and which annulled all that had been done by queen Mary, ſhe erected a court of *High Commiſſion*, by which ſhe and her ſucceſſors could exerciſe all juriſdiction of a ſpiritual nature, as "correcting hereſies and ſchiſms, abuſes, contempts, offences, and enormities of every kind." Accordingly, the commiſſioners appointed by the queen exerciſed the ſame power that had been given to Henry VIII; but not confining themſelves to their commiſſion, they, with the connivance of the queen, entangled thoſe who were brought before them with oaths *ex officio*, requiring them to

anſwer all queſtions put to them, by which, as in the popiſh inquiſition, they might accuſe themſelves and their friends and in the inextricable mazes of the popiſh canon law. *Neal*, Vol, 1, p. 119. And tho' the act of parliament which authorized this court makes no mention of impriſonment, or the infliction of any corporal puniſhment, and therefore could not legally exceed ſuſpenſion and deprivation, they were guilty of every act of wanton tyranny and oppreſſion, till the very name became odious to the nation.

Unhappily, the idea of *toleration* had not entered the minds of any of the contending parties of chriſtians at this time; and an *act of uniformity of common prayer and ſervice in the church* (ſuch as would exclude all conſcientious diſſenters) was paſſed in June A. D. 1559, and the rigorous preſſure of this was the occaſion of unſpeakable miſchiefs for eighty years following.

Viſitors being ſent through the country to ſee this act carried into execution, not more than about one hundred beneficed clergymen out of nine thouſand four hundred relinquiſhed their livings on account of their attachment to the catholic religion; and yet it was impoſſible to find Proteſtants of tolerable capacity to fill their places, ſo many of the learned exiles not being able to comply with the terms of conformity. Rather than do any thing

to

to accommodate them, the biſhops admitted the meaneſt and moſt illiterate perſons who would conform, and they publiſhed a book of *homilies*, or diſcourſes, to be read from the pulpit for their aſſiſtance.

Among others the celebrated Mr. Fox, the martyrologiſt, who was held in ſuch high eſteem by the queen herſelf, that ſhe commonly called him father, was excluded. Writing to a friend he ſaid, "I ſtill wear the ſame clothes, and remain in "the ſame ſordid condition in which England "received me when I returned from Germany; "nor do I change my order, which is that of the "Mendicants." When he was ſummoned before the commiſſioners, and required to ſubſcribe, he took a Greek Teſtament out of his pocket, and ſaid, "To this I will ſubſcribe;" and when they offered him the canons he refuſed, ſaying "I have "nothing in the church but a prebend in Saliſbu-"ry and much good may it do you if you take it "from me." But the commiſſioners, the hiſtorian ſays, had not courage enough to deprive a man of ſo much merit.

Another eminent non-conformiſt was Miles Coverdale, formerly biſhop of Exeter, who together with Tyndal and Rogers, had tranſlated the bible into Engliſh. He was alſo a celebrated

preacher; but the act of uniformity brought his reverend hairs with ſorrow to the grave.

David Whitehead, an excellent ſcholar and profeſſor of divinity, who had been chaplain to Ann Boleyn, and one of the four divines nominated by Cranmer to biſhopricks in Ireland, was among the nonconformiſts. In the beginning of queen Mary's reign he went to Frankfort, and on his return was choſen one of the four diſputants againſt the popiſh biſhops. But tho' the queen had ſo high an eſteem for him that ſhe offered him the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, he declined it; ſaying to her, that he would live plentifully on the goſpel, without any preferment. After this he went up and down like an apoſtle, preaching whereever he could, and died in a good old age in A. D. 1571.

At the ſame time ſo very unpopular were theſe approaches to popery in the habits that were now enjoined, that great numbers of the people refuſed to frequent thoſe places of worſhip in which the ſervice was performed in that dreſs. Many would not even ſalute the miniſters that wore it, beſides inſulting them in various ways.

The man who urged theſe meaſures with ſuch unrelenting rigour was archbiſhop Parker, than whom no popiſh inquiſitor could be more unfeeling. When the cries of the people reached the court

court, the ſecretary of ſtate wrote to him to ſupply the churches, and releaſe the priſoners for nonformity; but he was inexorable, chuſing that the people ſhould have no ſermons or ſacraments rather than have them without the ſurplice and ſquare cap. In his anſwer to the ſecretary he ſaid, that when the queen put him upon what he had done, he told her that theſe preciſe folks would offer their goods and their bodies to priſon, rather than relent, and that ſhe wiſhed him to impriſon them. He acknowledged that there were many pariſhes unſerved, and that he ſuffered many hard ſpeeches, and much reſiſtance from the people; but that it was nothing more than he had expected.

The tracts that the Puritans publiſhed on this occaſion being eagerly read by the people, the commiſſioners laid a reſtraint on the liberty of the preſs, making it impriſonment for three months, beſides the forfeiture of the copies, if any thing was printed contrary to the queen's injunctions.

In A. D. 1562 Beza wrote to the biſhops to diſſuade them from being inſtruments of ſuch ſeverities. He alſo wrote to the lord treaſurer, to endeavour to procure ſome farther reformation of religion; ſaying that he underſtood that many pious and learned men, the beſt affected to the Church of God, and lovers of the nation, complained of their ſeverity. But this had no effect,

and in this very year a hundred of the clergy were deprived for refuſing to ſubſcribe.

The Puritans finding no redreſs of their grievances by applying to the biſhops or the queen, reſolved that for the future they would make their application to the parliament. But when Mr. Field and Wilcox preſented a petition to the houſe they were taken into cuſtody and by the influence of the biſhops committed to Newgate.

A ſecond petition was preſented by Mr. Contwright, who was lately returned from abroad. The priſoners themſelves alſo wrote an elegant apology in Latin, addreſſed to the lord treaſurer; but he did not chuſe to meddle in an affair that might embroil him with the queen, and they were detained in priſon beyond the time fixed in the ſtatute; by which means they ſaid, in an humble ſupplication to the earl of Leiceſter, their wives and children were impoveriſhed, their health much impaired by the unwholeſome ſavour of the place, and the cold weather. They therefore intreated that, if they might not be releaſed, they might be removed to a more wholeſome priſon. They ſent another petition to the lords of the council, and another in the names of their wives and children. But notwithſtanding theſe, and other applications of a ſimilar kind, and tho' the inhabitants of Aldermanbury preſented two petitions for the enlargement

largement of their paſtor, "a learned and faithful "preacher," as they called Mr. Field; and tho' ſome great friends interceded for them, they could not obtain their releaſe till they had ſuffered the extremity of the law, and had paid their fees, tho' the keeper gave it under his hand that they were ſo poor as not to be able to pay for their victuals and lodging. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 257.

In the midſt of all this oppoſition from the queen and her commiſſioners, the Puritans gained ground; and tho' the preſs was reſtrained, they galled their adverſaries with prmphlets, which were privately diſperſed both in the city and the country. The ſcholars at Cambridge were alſo in general in favour of the Puritans, tho' the maſters and the heads of houſes were againſt them; ſo that many were deprived of their fellowſhips, and expelled the univerſity.

Great numbers of the people being now excluded from the churches, which they could not attend without receiving more offence than benefit, came to a reſolution, tho' with much reluctance, to ſeparate from the church, lay aſide the Engliſh liturgy, and uſe the Geneva ſervice book. This was in A. D 1566, and was the æra of the ſchiſm. For this purpoſe a preſbytery was erected at Wandſworth, a village five miles from London;

and

and this was the firſt Preſbyterian church in England. *Ibid*, p. 266.

While the pious and learned Puritans were excluded from all the livings, many of the clergy were diſguiſed Papiſts, who even exhorted their hearers in private againſt the *new religion*, as they called the Proteſtant. In Yorkſhire they went openly to maſs, and were ſo numerous, that the Proteſtants ſtood in awe of them. In London there was a great reſort to the Portugueſe ambaſſador's chapel; and when the ſheriff, by order of the biſhop of London, ſent their officers to take ſome of them into cuſtody, the queen was diſpleaſed, and ordered them to be releaſed.

All this time the governors of the church expreſſed no concern for the ſuppreſſion of vice, or the encouragement of virtue. There were no citations for immorality, but they were every day ſhutting the mouths of the moſt pious, uſeful, and induſtrious preachers in the nation.

The queen being incenſed againſt the Puritans for their applications to parliament, reprimanded the biſhops for not ſuppreſſing them, and was reſolved to turn all the power of the crown that way. Accordingly, the treaſurer made a long ſpeech before the commiſſioners of the ſtar chamber, in which, by the queen's order, he charged the biſhops with neglect, in not enforcing her proclamations.

ons. He ſaid the queen could not ſatisfy her conſcience without cruſhing the Puritans, and that ſhe inſiſted on abſolute obedience to her orders becauſe the ſafety of her government depended upon it. She openly ſaid that ſhe hated the Puritans more than ſhe did the Papiſts, whom partly from inclination, and partly from fear, ſhe was deſirous of conciliating.

Into the livings of the deprived miniſters ſeveral foreigners were introduced, tho' they could hardly read ſo as to be underſtood; and inſtead of having two ſermons every Lord's day, there was ſometimes only one in a quarter of a year, and often not that. The pariſhioners ſigned petitions to the biſhops for their former preachers, but it was to no purpoſe. They muſt ſwear and ſubſcribe, or be buried in ſilence.

The people farther ſhewed their affection to the Puritans by viſiting them in priſon, and ſeveral of the aldermen and wealthy citizens aſſiſted them and engaged others to join them in it.

In A. D. 1571 many of the more ſerious of the conforming clergy had meetings for their mutual edification, and called their exerciſes *prophecying*; and in A. D. 1574, there were ſome in the dioceſes of York, Cheſter, Durham, and Ely, the biſhop of London and other biſhops encouraging them; but the queen ſaid they were no better than

ſeminaries

ſeminaries of puritaniſm, that the more averſe the people were to popery, the more danger they were in of non conformity; that theſe exerciſes tended to popularity, and made the people ſo inquiſitive that they would not ſubmit to the orders of their ſuperiors as they ought. She therefore gave the archbiſhop orders to put down theſe meetings for prophecying, aad this was in time effected.

Alſo ſome well diſpoſed perſons of the laity in Cambridgſhire and Eſſex uſed to meet together on holydays to read the ſcriptures, and confirm one another in chriſtian faith and practice; but as ſoon as the commiſſioners were informed of theſe meetings, the miniſters of the pariſhes were ſent for, and ordered to ſuppreſs them.

In A. D. 1575, archbiſhop Parker, the great enemy of the Puritans died. He was not diſtinguiſhed for any thing but his zeal in the ſervice of the queen, not by his diligent preaching, or pious example. He was ſucceeded by Grindal the archbiſhop of York, a divine of moderate principles, a friend to preaching and the prophecyings, ad no farther a perſecutor of the Puritans than he was compelled to be.

This archbiſhop writing to the queen, tho' with all poſſible reſpect and deference, in favour of preaching and the prophecyings, ſhe was ſo much provoked, that by an order of the ſtar chamber he

was

was confined to his houſe, and ſuſpended from his functions ſix months. She ſaid it was good for the church to have but few preachers, three or four in a county being ſufficient.

In conſequence of theſe meaſures, the ſcarcity of preachers was very great. In the large town of Northampton there was not one, tho' the people of the town applied to the biſhop of the dioceſe for one. In the county of Cornwall, tho there were an hundred clergy, uot one of them was capable of preaching a ſermon, and moſt of them were pluraliſts and non reſidents. Even the city of London was poorly provided for. In a petition from the people of Cornwall they ſay that, having about one hundred and ſixty churches, the greater part of them were ſupplied by men addicted to the groſſeſt ſins, ſome fornicators, ſome adulterers, ſome felons, bearing on their hands the marks of their offences, ſome drunkards, gameſters on the Lord's day, &c.

In this ſtate of things many of the nonconforming miniſters ſupplied the defects of the regular clergy, under the character of curates, and lecturers; and by their diligence and ſerious preaching gained the hearts of the people. They viſited the pariſhioners, and inſtructed their children, diſcharging in all reſpects the duties of paſtors.

This

This they did at the ſame time that they attended their own private meetings.

While the biſhops were driving the Puritans out of the pulpits, the nobility and gentry received many of them into their houſes as chaplains, and tutors to their children. They alſo preached in theſe families, as well as catechized the children, and this had a conſiderable effect in the next generation.

When about this time the parliament petitioned for the relief of the Puritans, they were intimidated by the queen's violent oppoſition and reproofs; and inſtead of eaſing them, ſhe was more urgent in enforcing the execution of the laws againſt them than ever.

Some of the Puritans, being exceedingly exaſperated, publiſhed ſatirical pamphlets againſt their adverſaries, eſpecially one entitled *Martin Marprelate*; but the queen procured an act of parliament enacting that the authors of them ſhould ſuffer death, as well as the loſs of their goods, as in the caſe of felony, which was to be in force during the life of the queen; and ſeveral actually ſuffered death in conſequence of it. The ſame parliament paſſed an act obliging all perſons not attending the ſervice of the church to forfeit twenty pounds per month, and be impriſoned till it was paid.

Archbiſhop

Archbiſhop Grindal dying in A. D. 1583, was ſucceeded by Whitgift biſhop of Wincheſter, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the controverſy with the Puritans; and the very firſt week in which he was in power, he forbad all preaching, catechizing, and praying in any private family in which any ſtrangers were preſent; that none ſhould preach or catechize in public, unleſs he would read the whole ſervice, and in the preſcribed habits. Inſiſting in his primary viſitation on this ſtrict conformity in all preachers, one hundred and thirty three miniſters were ſuſpended in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Suſſex, Eſſex, Kent, and Lincolnſhire, beſides great numbers in London and other places. This archbiſhop had kept his preferments through all the reign of queen Mary, and had no mercy for any whoſe conſciences were not as pliable as his own.

Not ſatisfied with the power he already had, this violent archbiſhop applied for a new commiſſion, in order to proceed with ſtill more rigour againſt the Puritans, and the queen was ſufficiently diſpoſed to gratify him. Accordingly, ſhe granted it in A. D. 1583, which was the twenty ſixth year of her reign. This court of high commiſſion had more power than the ordinary courts of the biſhops, but the legality of it was much doubted. By this the commiſſioners were inveſted with all

the power in eccleſiaſtical matters of which Henry VIII had been poſſeſsed, and they ſoon went beyond the power that had ever been exerciſed before. For they were directed to inquire into all miſdemeanors, not only by means of witneſſes, but "by all other ways and means that they could "deviſe;" which was giving them the full power of a popiſh inquiſition, and authorized them to employ even torture.

In purſuance of this any perſon ſuſpected of nonconformity was impriſoned ſeven weeks before he was brought to trial. He was then required to anſwer upon oath to any queſtions that were put to him, ſo that he was required to accuſe himſelf or his friends, and he had no previous information of the queſtions that would be put to him. If they could not convict him on his confeſſion, they had recourſe to witneſſes; but they never acquitted him on his own oath. Sometimes perſons were obliged to attend a long time at this court, and ſometimes they were condemned without any trial at all.

Mr. John Gardiner, the deprived miniſter of Malden in Eſſex, was in priſon ſeven years on a falſe accuſation. He was ſick, and had a wife and five children, beſides one that was drowned while his wife was attending on him. He only begged to be bailed, and ſaid in his petition that if he was found

found guilty of any breach of the law, he desired no favour.

The lord treasurer Burleigh, writing to the archbishop on this occasion, said that, in his judgment, this mode of proceeding favoured too much of the romish inquisition, that it was a device rather to seek for offenders than to reform any. But this letter, tho' written in favour of a friend of the treasurer, was far from softening the archbishop. When the lords of the council wrote to him in favour of the deprived ministers, representing the deplorable state of the country in consequence of the want of preachers, it had no more effect than the letter of the treasurer. And when the house of commons again applied to the queen on the subject, she reprimanded them with great haughtiness, as encroaching on her prerogative.

As the cause of the nonconformists was particularly promoted by their writings, the archbishop procured an order from the high commissioners to prohibit all printing presses in private places, or any where except in London with his licence, and the two universities. Some of the Puritans, however, procured one, and removed it from place to place, till it was at last discovered at Manchester, when all that were concerned in it were fined, and some put to death. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 443.

All nonsubscribing divines were prohibited from teaching not only grammar, but even read-

ing and writing; for which all ſchoolmaſters were required to take out licences from year to year.

In the parliament that met in A. D. 1586, the Puritans made another attempt to obtain ſome relief. In their petition at this time they ſaid that the beneficed miniſters were far from being duly qualified to diſcharge the duties of their office, that the biſhops ordained prieſts of the meaneſt of the people, as ſhoemakers, barbers, taylors, water carriers, ſhepherds, and horſe keepers. To juſtify this account they produced a ſurvey of ſeveral counties that were the beſt ſerved, which abundantly verified their aſſertions. But when ſome bold ſpeeches were made on this occaſion, the ſpeakers were ſent to the tower, and the other members of the houſe were ſo intimidated, that they would not ſuffer the bill that was prepared for a redreſs of the evil to be read. The queen was ſo much offended, that in an act for a general pardon which was paſſed at this time, ſhe ordered an exception to be made of all ſuch as had committed any offence againſt the act of uniformity, or that had publiſhed ſeditious books or pamphlets. At the ſame time the archbiſhop gave leave for the introduction and ſale of popiſh books from abroad; ſaying that by this means the arguments of the papiſts being better known, they might be more ea-

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ſily confuted; as if this reaſon would not have applied to the publications of the Puritans.

Among thoſe who were ſentenced to die for the publication of ſeditious books was the Revd. Mr. Udal, whoſe caſe deſerves a particular mention. He was firſt ſent to the Gatehouſe, and confined without pen, ink, or paper, and without any perſon being allowed to ſpeak to him. Here he remained half a year in company with traitors and other criminals. He was then carried to the aſſizes at Croydon with fetters on his legs. There he was groſsly inſulted by the judges, and the witneſſes againſt him were not produced in the court, but only their examinations; ſo that he had no opportunity of aſking them any queſtions in order to refute their evidence. He denied writing the book with which he was charged, and tho' he ſaid he approved the ſentiments of it, he did not like the manner in which it was written. He was, however convicted at the ſummer aſſizes in A. D. 1590, and received ſentence of death at the lent aſſizes following. At the requeſt of king James, then of Scotland, he had leave to go as chaplain to the Turkey merchants; but their ſhips ſailing without him, he remained in priſon heart broken with grief, and died there in A. D. 1592. Mr. Fuller ſays he was a learned man, of blameleſs life, and an excellent preacher. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 454.

King James, then a zealous preſbyterian, interceded alſo for Mr. Cartwright, the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the learned Puritans, on account, as he ſaid, of his great learning, and faithful labours in the goſpel. He himſelf alleged as a plea for his relief his ſufferings from the gout and the ſciatica, which were aggravated by lying in a cold priſon. At length, after lying in priſon two years, and after many other reſpectable applications in his favour, he was releaſed on his promiſe of peaceable behaviour.

John Penry, a Welſh divine, ſuffered death for papers that were found upon him, tho' written in a foreign country, and not publiſhed, which was a thing that had never been known before.

In an act paſſed in A. D. 1592, the attendance on the eſtabliſhed worſhip was enforced by the penalty of perpetual baniſhment; and if the perſons ſo baniſhed either did not leave the country within the time limited, or returned without licence, they were to ſuffer death without benefit of clergy; which made their caſe worſe than that of common felons. This ſtatute was levelled againſt the laity as well as the clergy, and the rigorous execution of it in this reign and the following, the hiſtorian ſays, brought infinite miſchiefs upon the kingdom; many families being driven into baniſhment, while ſome were put to death as in caſes of treaſon,

treaſon, and others as the authors of ſeditious pamphlets. On this ſtatute Mr. Smith and others were committed to priſon without being allowed the uſual liberties of it, and there, the hiſtorian ſays, they died like rotten ſheep, ſome of the diſeaſes of the priſon, and others of want. They complained that they were not allowed meat, drink, fire or bedding, and that no friend was allowed acceſs to them. In a petition to the queen they begged to be releaſed from their ſufferings, tho' it were by death.

The Puritan clergy being now put on a level with common felons, there was hardly an aſſizes in any county in which one or more miniſters did not appear in that diſgraceful character, beſides being expoſed to the inſults of a rude multitude. But their behaviour at the gallows, and their ſolemn declarations of loyalty before their execution, raiſed a great odium againſt the biſhops, and at length affected even the queen herſelf; ſo that from the year A. D. 1592, ſhe rather choſe to baniſh them by the ſtatute of the thirty firſt of her reign. By this means all the jails were emptied, but within another year the commiſſioners took care to fill them again. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 486.

Notwithſtanding all theſe efforts of Whitgift, and his ſucceſſor Bancroft, it appeared that in the beginning of the next reign, the number of non-

conforming clergy amounted to one thouſand five hundred, and towards the cloſe of the reign they were not much moleſted, owing to the uncertainty there was with reſpect to her ſucceſſor James of Scotland, who was a Preſbyterian.

In this reign viz, A. D. 1588, Bancroft, then the archbiſhops chaplain, advanced a doctrine that was quite new, and the occaſion of much controverſy; and which, being adopted by the clergy in general, removed the Puritans ſtill farther from the eſtabliſhed church. He maintained that biſhops were an order diſtinct from that of prieſts, and had their ſuperiority by divine right; whereas all that had been advanced before was that their higher rank was by human appointment.

A ſtate of perſecution naturally gave a more ſerious turn to the minds of the Puritans. This was particularly viſible in their manner of ſpending the Sundays, refraining from all diverſion on that day, and employing the whole of it in religious exerciſes. They alſo kept at the greateſt diſtance from profaneneſs, and were remarkable for their ſobriety and the moral virtues in general. On the other hand the friends of the court ridiculed their preciſeneſs, and affected to diſtinguiſh themſelves from them more than they otherwiſe would have done by profaneneſs, and licentiouſneſs of every kind. If in any reſpect perſons adopted the ſtrict-

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neſs of the Puritans, they were reproached by the conformiſts and friends of the court with that appellation, and fell under ſuſpicion as favourers of them.

After attending to the hiſtory of the Puritans in this reign of Elizabeth, we cannot wonder at their becoming advocates for civil liberty. Oppreſſion made them feel the want of it; whereas the members of the eſtabliſhment, in conſequence of being favoured by the court, became attached to it, and were advocates for the doctrines of paſſive obedience and non reſiſtance, as they continued to be in the ſucceeding reigns. In the early part of the reign of Elizabeth there was no difference between the Puritans and others on this ſubject. Nay they took every opportunity of profeſſing obedience of the queen in all caſes in which conſcience was not concerned, and perhaps they attended leſs to things of a civil nature, and were more indifferent about them, in conſequence of being more occupied about religion than other perſons. But a change in their ſituation led them to reflect, and change their opinion, when probably nothing elſe would have done it.

In Scotland king James appeared to be a zealous Preſbyterian. In a ſpeech that he made in the General Aſſembly at Edinburgh, in A. D. 1590, he ſaid, "As to our neighbour the kirk of En-

"gland, their ſervice is an ill ſaid maſs in Engliſh. "They want nothing of the maſs but the liftings," meaning the elevation of the hoſt. *Neal*, Vol 2, p. 2. But preſently after his arrival in England his uſual ſaying was, *No biſhop, no king*, and he proved through the whole of his reign as bitter an enemy to the Puritans as Elizabeth had been.

In his progreſs to London the Puritans preſented a petition, in which they repreſented that more than a thouſand miniſters were groaning under the burden of human rites and ceremonies; but all they could ever obtain of him was a conference at Hampton court, in which every thing appeared to have been ſettled before hand with the biſhops. The king, who was preſent, behaved in the moſt partial and indecent manner, inſulting the Puritan ſpeakers, while the biſhops ſtood by ſpectators of their triumph. At the concluſion of this conference he ſaid, after hearing them, "If this be "all that your party has to ſay, I will make them "conform, or I will hurry them out of the land, if "not worſe;" and the hiſtorian adds he was as good as his word. Had the biſhops of that time been men of moderation, and the king been poſſeſſed of the *wiſdom* with which he was complimented, the Puritans might have been eaſily ſatisfied, but the opportunity was loſt, and never returned. It is evident, however, that Divine Providence

vidence had ſomething greater and better in view, by the continuance of the perſecution, grievous as it was, than the ſucceſsful termination of that conference. James and the Stuarts were but the Pharaoah in the buſineſs, and the Puritans were not then ſufficiently diſciplined. They had much to learn, eſpecially with reſpect to toleration, which nothing but their ſufferings could effectually teach.

Before the meeting of parliament the king iſſued two proclamations, one commanding all Jeſuits and popiſh prieſts in orders, to depart the kingdom, but expreſſing that this was not from any hatred he had to their religion, but ſolely for their maintaining the pope's temporal power over princes. The other was directed againſt the Puritans, ordering them to conform, or ſuffer the extremity of the law. They were, he ſaid, a ſect inſufferable in any well governed commonwealth.

In A. D. 1603, the book of canons prepared by archbiſhop Bancroft, who had ſucceeded Whitgift, was confirmed by the convocation, and in conſequence of it the Puritans were expoſed to new hardſhips. Beſides ſuſpenſions, and deprivations of their livings, they were ſubject, in many caſes, to excommunication, by which they were rendered incapable of ſuing for their lawful debts, they might be impriſoned for life if they did not give ſatisfaction to the church, and when they died they

they were denied chriſtian burial. By this engine more than three hundred miniſters were thus ſilenced and deprived, ſome were excommunicated and caſt into priſon, and others went into baniſhment.

To ſupport the biſhops in theſe meaſures, the king ſummoned the twelve judges, and propoſed to them ſeveral queſtions; and in anſwer to one of them, they ſaid that, the preſenting of petitions ſigned by many hands (which the Puritans had done) with an intimation that if their ſuit was denied many thouſands of his ſubjects would be diſcontented, was an offence puniſhable at diſcretion, as it tended to excite ſedition and rebellion.

After this the archbiſhop proceeded with more violence than ever; and all the clergy being ſummoned to Lambeth, in order to ſubſcribe over again, many of them abſconded, and ſuch numbers refuſed, that the churches were in danger of being deprived of miniſters; which alarmed the court as they had been told that the nonconformiſts were an inconſiderable body of men. In conſequence of this they were under a neceſſity of relaxing their rigour for the preſent; contenting themſelves with the promiſes of ſome to conform in part, and to bear with others, who, tho' they refuſed to comply altogether, allowed that the things were lawful in themſelves. It was hoped that in time the univerſities

verſities would ſupply the churches with ſtricter conformiſts, as none were admitted into orders without an abſolute and full ſubſcription to all the articles and canons.

But thoſe who abſolutely ſeparated from the church were treated with peculiar rigour. Mr. Maunſel, a nonconformiſt miniſter living at Yarmouth, and Mr. Lad, a merchant of that place, were impriſoned, by the high commiſſion, becauſe on a Lord's day they had met to repeat the ſermon which they had heard at the church; and a lawyer who only pleaded for them was ſo far from ſerving them that he was himſelf cloſely confined, and never obtained his releaſe till the day of his death. *Neal*, Vol. 2. p. 42.

In this ſtate of things great numbers left the kingdom, and went to the Low countries; and ſeveral of the miniſters became chaplains to the regiments in the cautionary towns. A great number of theſe emigrants were Browniſts, * and among them

* Robert Brown was a clergyman who firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf by inveighing againſt the ceremonies and diſcipline of the Church at Norwich, for which he was committed to the cuſtody of the ſheriff in A. D 1580. He boaſted that he had been in thirty two priſons in ſome of which he could not ſee his hand at noon day. *Neal*, Vol 1, p. 59. At length he and his friends went to Middleburgh in Holland, but diſagreeing among

them was John Robinſon, who formed a congregation of them at Leyden, and was conſidered as the father of the Independents. They maintained that the church of England was no true church of Chriſt, but a limb of Antichriſt, or at the beſt a mere creature of the ſtate. †

In A. D. 1605 was the *Gunpowder Plot*, which tho' planned by the Papiſts, was intended to be charged upon the Puritans, and in a ſpeech which the king delivered on that occaſion, after clearing the catholic religion from encouraging ſuch murderous practices, he ſaid, "the cruelty of the Puri-

"tans

themſelves, Mr. Brown returned to England, and conformed to the eſtabliſhed church. Fuller ſays that, to his perſonal knowledge, he lived a diſſolute life, far from the ſtrictneſs to which his followers pretended. At length, quarrelling with the conſtable of his pariſh, he ſtruck this officer, and for this he was committed to Northampton jail, where he fell ſick and died in the eighty firſt year of his age. *Ib.* Vol. 1, p. 61.

† Among thoſe who fled from this perſecution of Bancroft was Henry Jacob. Having conferred with Mr. Robinſon, he embraced his ſentiments, and after his return he became the firſt Independent miniſter in England. *Neal*, Vol. 2, p. 101. In July A. D. 1620, part of Mr. Robinſon's congregation went to New England, and at length formed a ſettlement at New Plymouth.

"tans was worthy of fire, as they would not allow "ſalvation to any Papiſts." Alſo in an apology which he addreſſed to all chriſtian princes, he ſaid that he had granted free liberty of religion to all the Catholics, that he had delivered all the Jeſuits and papiſts in a general goal delivery, and had given ſtrict orders to his judges not to put the laws againſt them in execution for the future. On occaſion of the ſame plot the parliament made a law obliging all perſons to go to church, under the penalty of twelve pence for every Sunday on which they were abſent.

The court being alarmed at the great numbers that left the country to go to Virginia at this time, the archbiſhop procured a proclamation to prohibit the emigration without the kings ſpecial licence. And as many perſons had retired to the iſland of Jerſey, where they had been allowed to adopt the diſcipline of the French Proteſtants, meaſures were now taken to reduce them to a conformity with the church of England.

The king having ſhewn ſo much favour to the clergy, they in return became zealous champions for his prerogative. One Cowel, vicar general to the archbiſhop, publiſhed a book in which he maintained that the king was not bound by the laws, or by his coronation oath; that he was not obliged to call parliaments in order to make laws, but

but might do it of himſelf; and that it was a favour to admit the conſent of the ſubject in giving ſubſidies. Another clergyman maintained that the Engliſh nation were ſlaves from the Norman conqueſt. The parliament, however, did not adopt theſe ſlaviſh maxims; but one of the members having made a bold ſpeech in the houſe, the king ſummoned both the houſes to meet him at Whitehall, when he told them that it was ſedition in the ſubject to diſpute what a king might do in the height of his power. But their ſpirit riſing upon this, and repreſenting many grievances, the king diſſolved them without paſſing any act that ſeſſion. This was in A. D. 1610.

Towards the latter part of this king's reign, from having been a zealous Calviniſt, he became a favourer of the Arminians, and they having his ſupport, became advocates for his prerogative, while thoſe who adhered to the old doctrines were called *church puritans*, and others who were no friends to the prerogative were called *ſtate puritans*. *Neal*, Vol. 2, p. 122.

The king having diſmiſſed his laſt parliament, gratified the Spaniards, with whom he was in treaty for the marriage of his ſon, by releaſing the Jeſuits and popiſh recuſants, to the number it is ſaid of four thouſand. All proſecutions againſt them were ſtayed, and the penal laws ſuſpended, on

which great numbers of Jeſuits and other miſſionaries flocked to England, and maſs was openly celebrated. At the ſame time the court bore hard upon the Puritans, and to diſtreſs them the more, the king ſent directions to the archbiſhop, to be communicated to all the clergy of his province, forbidding any miniſter to preach on any ſubject not comprehended in the thirty nine articles, but to forbear entering on the doctrine of predeſtination, and thoſe connected with it; that no preacher ſhould preſume to ſet bounds to the prerogative, or meddle with matters of ſtate, &c. It was ordered that all offenders ſhould be ſuſpended a year and a day, till his majeſty ſhould direct ſome farther puniſhment.

Upon this great numbers went to America, and many papiſts came over, and met with every encouragement. But tho' in conſequence of this, there was an increaſe of popery in the kingdom, there was more than a proportionable increaſe of Puritaniſm, while the friends of the hierarchy ſunk into contempt. It is ſaid that, upon the whole, the Puritan party was more in number than both the other parties put together. *Neal*, Vol. 2, p. 140.

The death of king James in A. D. 1625, brought no relief to the Puritans, his ſucceſſor Charles I, governed by Laud, then biſhop of St. Davids, and

the queen, who was a zealous catholic; being, if poſſible, more their enemy than he; conſidering them, as Lord Clarendon ſays, as a very ſeditious and dangerous ſet of people. Accordingly, all the laws againſt them were rigorouſly enforced, while every indulgence was given to the Catholics; and theſe being advocates for arbitrary power, the Puritans were the only bulwark of the Conſtitution. The parliament, expreſſing their zeal againſt Arminianiſm and popery, were diſſolved, and through his whole reign this prince governed as much as he poſſibly could without them.

The object of Laud was to govern the church in the ſame arbitrary manner as the king did the ſtate, and to unite the churches of England and Rome; and in this he made conſiderable progreſs, by introducing a variety of popiſh ceremonies, eſpecially in the conſecration of churches, and by changing the communion table into an altar.

To promote the views of Laud, the king by his proclamation ſilenced all preaching by miniſters who were not ſtrict conformiſts; and till this time the lecturers were chiefly Puritans, who preached in the afternoon, and having no cure of ſouls, had not been under any obligation to conform. But Laud ſaid that "by their prayers and ſermons they "awakened the people to diſaffection."

This

This meaſure brought more buſineſs than ever into the ſpiritual courts, every week ſome Puritan miniſters being ſuſpended or deprived, and their families reduced to diſtreſs. In conſequence of this a farther emigration to New England was projected; and in March A. D. 1629 it took place, and a ſettlement was made at Salem. The ſummer following theſe emigrants were joined by others, and this was done every year of Laud's adminiſtration; which drained England of ſo much money, that it was thought that, if thoſe meaſures had continued twelve years longer, a fourth part of the wealth of the nation would have been carried out of it. *

The particulars of Laud's cruelties are far too numerous to be recited in this general hiſtory;

* Among the more eminent of the divines who went to New England, was Dr. Elliot, who was called the apoſtle of the Indians, whom he ſpent a long life in converting. With indefatigable labour he tranſlated the bible into their language. In A. D. 1634, John Cotton went to New England, and in A. D. 1635, R. Mather, the grand father of Cotton Mather, who wrote the hiſtory of New England. At the end of A. D. 1636, ſo many had gone to New England, that they extended their ſettlements into various parts of the country, eſpecially the ſouth weſterly parts of Connecticut, and built New Haven. *Neal*, Vol: 2, p. 314.

but the caſe of Alexander Leighton, a Scotch divine, and the father of biſhop Leighton, muſt not be paſſed over in ſilence. Having written a book entitled *Zion's plea againſt prelacy*, in which he called that mode of church government antichriſtian, and declaimed againſt the canons and ceremonies, he was ſentenced to pay a fine of ten thouſand pounds, to be put into the pillory, then whipped, then ſet in the pillory again, when one of his ears was to be cut off, one ſide of his noſe ſlit, and branded in the face with S. S. as a ſower of ſedition. After a few days he was to ſtand in the pillory again, to be whipped a ſecond time, have the other ſide of his noſe ſlit, and his other ear cut off, and after all this to be impriſoned for life. This barbarous ſentence was rigorouſly executed, and he was kept in cloſe confinement ten years, when he was releaſed by the long parliament.

In A. D. 1633 on the death of Abbot, who ſucceeded Whitgift, and who was a man of moderate principles, Laud from being biſhop of London, was made archbiſhop of Canterbury; and now, among other methods of oppoſing the Puritans, he recommended ſports on the Lord's day, and procured a proclamation from the king for that purpoſe; and it was ordered to be read from the pulpit in every pariſh in the kingdom. But this ſtruck the nation in general with a kind of horror, as, in their

their opinion, it contradicted the expreſs command of God. But the object of Laud was to diſtreſs all who were puritanically inclined, and this it did exceedingly during ſeven years. Some of the miniſters after reading this proclamation, read the fourth commandment, others got it done by curates, and others refuſed to comply on any terms. The deſcendants of foreign Proteſtants that had been allowed to ſettle in the kingdom, being required to conform, left the country. From the dioceſe of Norwich three thouſand manufacturers, ſome of whom gave employment to an hundred poor people, removed.

So many left the kingdom at this time, that a proclamation was iſſued forbidding all perſons except ſoldiers, mariners, merchants, and their factors, to go without the king's licence. Another proclamation was iſſued April 30th, A. D. 1637, forbidding any to go to New England, whither it was ſaid they went to be out of the reach of eccleſiaſtical authority, and no clergyman could go without a teſtimonial from the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhop of London. Among others who were prevented from going to New England at this time, it is ſaid, were Oliver Cromwell, John Hampden, and Arthur Hazzlerig, who afterwards made a diſtinguiſhed figure in the civil wars. They were embarked with others in eigh-

teen ſhips in the river Thames, ready for ſailing, when they were ſtopped by an order of the privy council.

A parliament meeting after this, the convocation which met at the ſame time, continued to ſit after the parliament was diſſolved, which was contrary to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom. Notwithſtanding this, being urged by the archbiſhop, they made ſeventeen canons, which were generally diſliked, and impoſed ſuch an oath on the clergy, that Dr. Saunderſon, afterwards biſhop of Lincoln, told the archbiſhop that the peace of the church would be more endangered by it than by all that had paſſed before. The archbiſhop, however, would have perſiſted in his meaſure, if the nobility and gentry, who were at that time with the king at York, had not perſuaded him to relax. Preſently after this the king found himſelf under the neceſſity of calling a parliament, and to conſent that they ſhould not be diſſolved without their own conſent; and it continued to ſit with ſome interruptions eighteen years. But the events that followed upon it belong more to the civil than the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the country, tho' at this time they were much connected with each other.

This *long parliament*, as it was called, conſiſted of members of the eſtabliſhed church, and they were far from having any thoughts of overturning either

either the eccleſiaſtical or civil conſtitution. Their ſole object was to redreſs the infringements that had been made upon both. The chief officers in the army too were zealous for the liturgy, and would not hear any miniſter who had not epiſcopal ordination. Alſo tho' the parliament enumerated many grievances in the church, they declared for uniformity in religion. *Neal*, Vol. 2, p. 484.

One of the firſt reſolutions of this parliament cenſured the proceedings of the late convocation. They declared that no convocation, or ſynod, could make conſtitutions or canons to bind the clergy or laity, without the conſent of parliament; and that the laſt that were made were not binding. They then inquired how far the archbiſhop was concerned in making thoſe canons, and drew up articles of impeachment againſt him.

The number of petitions ſent up to this parliament is incredible; ſome complaining of ſuperſtitious impoſitions, and others of the immoral lives of the clergy, and their neglect of duty. The clamour againſt the high clergy was ſo great, and ſo general, that they could hardly walk the ſtreets in their habits without being inſulted.

The parliament ſoon aboliſhed the court of high commiſſion, and that of the ſtar chamber, by which the ſpiritual ſword was taken out of the hands

of the biſhops. And the votes of the biſhops in parliament being conſidered as a principal obſtruction to the buſineſs of reformation, the parliament refuſed to admit them, and the king, tho' much againſt his will, conſented to it. Not being able to carry on the war againſt the king without the aid of the Scots, and perceiving that they would never act heartily with them, without a conformity to their religious ſyſtem, they paſſed a bill for aboliſhing epiſcopacy, tho' they did not at that time agree to any thing farther; intending to reſume it, with the correction of abuſes, when the troubles ſhould be over. In conſequence of this, every miniſter was at liberty to act as he thought proper in his own cure, with reſpect to the veſtments or the liturgy. But tho' there was no regular church diſcipline, there was a great ſpirit of devotion in the people, and eſpecially in the parliamentary army; many of the ſoldiers having entered as volunteers from a principle of conſcience, in the defence of their civil and religious liberty; while, in oppoſition to them, the friends and the army of the king, were diſtinguiſhed by their profaneneſs and immorality.

To aſſiſt in the buſineſs of reformation, the parliament appointed an aſſembly of divines, two for every county, with thirty lay aſſeſſors, who had

equal

equal votes with them. This was opened in July A. D. 1643. There were, however, in this aſſembly ſome Independents, and ſome Eraſtians, * but no Baptiſts, tho' their ſentiments ſpread much at that time.

Theſe divines tho' in general originally favourers of moderate epiſcopacy, yet being urged by the Scots to adopt the ſolemn league and covenant, the more rigid epiſcopalians left them. All church buſineſs went through their hands, and tho' the pariſhioners elected their miniſters, the aſſembly examined and approved them, and then the parliament confirmed them in their benefices.

This aſſembly drew up a *Directory for public worſhip*, which inſtead of one preſcribed form of prayer, only directed the miniſter what topics to enlarge upon. They alſo afterwards drew up *articles of faith*, and compoſed *two Catechisms*, a larger

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* The Eraſtians had their name from *Erastus*, a German divine, who maintained that no form of church government was of divine appointment, but left to the diſcretion of chriſtian magiſtrates; that all chriſtian ordinances, as the Lord's Supper, ſhould be open to all perſons without diſtinction; that all excommunication was therefore unlawful, and that all puniſhment ſhould be left to the civil magiſtrate.

and a leſs; the former to be lectured from in the pulpit, and the latter for the inſtruction of children. They ſat five years and ſix months, when they were changed into a committee for the examination of miniſters, and broke up when the long parliament was diſſolved by Oliver Cromwell, March 25th, A. D. 1652.

The civil war was in a great meaſure a war of religion. The king would never ſincerely conſent to aboliſh epiſcopacy, on which the Scots and the parliament inſiſted, and both were equally againſt any toleration; which the Independents and the army, which in the later periods of the war conſiſted in a great meaſure of them and other ſectaries, demanded. By an ordinance of parliament May 21ſt, A. D. 1648, hereſy was made puniſhable as felony, without benefit of clergy. *Neal*, Vol 2, p. 458. The army not prevailing with the parliament to grant them a toleration, and having the power in their own hands, thought themſelves juſtified in exerciſing it by new modelling, and finally diſſolving, the parliament. After this they procured the king to be condemned and executed, and governed the nation under different forms till the reſtoration.

Preſently after the death of the king the parliament repealed all penal acts relating to religion, and nothing was required of any miniſter but to promiſe

promiſe that he would be "faithful to the govern-"ment eſtabliſhed, without a king or houſe of "peers." This was called the *Engagement*, and in conſequence of this many of the epiſcopal divines complied with the government, and uſed the liturgy.

Under the Protector free liberty was given to the profeſſors of any form of the chriſtian religion, if they did not diſturb the public peace; but the Preſbyterian worſhip was kept up. Popery, however, and prelacy, were prohibited. Thirty divines were appointed to examine all candidates for the miniſtry, and of them the majority were Preſbyterians, ſome were Independents, and three were Baptiſts. Eight laymen were aſſociated with them. On the reſtoration of the long parliament the Preſbyterians recovered all the power they had loſt, and they were in poſſeſſion of all the livings in England. *Ib.* Vol. 2, p. 225.

When Charles II was in exile at Breda, he promiſed a deputation of Preſbyterians, who waited upon him there, that no perſon in his reign ſhould be moleſted on account of his religion, while he did not diſturb the peace, and upon his return he publiſhed a *declaration* conformable to it. But the parliament, which conſiſted chiefly of royaliſts, did not confirm it, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate oppoſing it, which ſufficiently ſhewed which way

way the king was inclined; and the biſhops and the court, finding that they could do it ſafely, reſtored every thing to its former ſtandard; and then the doctrines of paſſive obedience and non reſiſtance were preached as much as ever.

An act was preſently paſſed to reſtore all the ſecluded miniſters, tho' they had been deprived for incapacity or immorality; by which means ſome hundreds were turned out of their livings, while the popiſh clergy appeared every where with impunity, in defiance of the laws againſt them.

On the pretence of an alarm of an inſurrection, an act was paſſed requiring all mayors, and other officers of corporations, to declare that they believed it to be unlawful to take up arms againſt the king upon any pretence whatſoever, and to renounce the ſolemn league and covenant. It likewiſe ordered that no perſon ſhould be hereafter elected to ſuch an office, who had not taken the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the church of England, a year before. Thus all the nonconformiſts were turned out of every office of magiſtracy.

In ſome meaſure to fulfil his promiſe, the king appointed a conference at the Savoy of ſome biſhops, and ſome of the Preſbyterian divines, to review the book of common prayer; but the biſhops would not allow of any of the alterations that were propoſed,

propoſed, nor did they pay any regard to any intreaties to make ſome conceſſions for the ſake of peace. After this the biſhops did of their own accord make ſome alterations, but none in favour of the nonconformiſts. On the contrary, it was made in ſome reſpects more exceptionable than it was before, and many miniſters were reduced to great diſtreſs for not uſing it, even before it was required by law.

At length an *act of uniformity* was paſſed, requiring every miniſter, profeſſor in a college, and even ſchool-maſters, to declare "their unfeigned "conſent to every thing contained in the book of "common prayer," before the feaſt of Bartholemew in A. D. 1662, tho' it was impoſſible for many of them to ſee the new prayer book before that time. Every miniſter was alſo required to renounce his Preſbyterian ordination, and to be reordained by a biſhop, beſides renouncing the ſolemn league and covenant, and the lawfulneſs of taking up arms againſt the king on any pretence whatever. No proviſion was made for thoſe who could not comply with theſe terms, tho' both queen Elizabeth and Oliver Cromwell allowed one fifth of the benefice for the maintenance of the ejected incumbent.

When the fatal day came about, two thouſand miniſters relinquiſhed their preferments. Of theſe

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ſome applied to ſecular employments, as thoſe of the law and medicine, others were received into private families as chaplains, but the greater number muſt have ſtarved if they had not been relieved by the charity of their friends. Many, however, thinking it to be their duty to exerciſe their miniſtry at all riſques, preached in the fields and in private houſes, till they were apprehended and caſt into jail, where many of them periſhed. The people were no leſs divided, and many were fined and impriſoned for attending upon the perſecuted preachers, and many left the country and ſettled in the plantations.

By an act of parliament called the *Conventicle act*, paſſed in A. D. 1663, it was enacted that not more than five perſons beſides the members of any family, ſhould meet in any houſe for the purpoſe of public worſhip, not conducted according to the rites of the church of England, the offenders to be fined and impriſoned, and for the ſecond offence, baniſhed.

In A. D. 1665, it was farther enacted that any perſon who refuſed to take a particular oath, which it was known that no diſſenter could take, was prohibited from ſettling in any place within five miles of any city or corporated town, or wherever they had officiated as miniſters.

On

On the fall of the earl of Clarendon, who had been the chief promoter of the perſecution, the nonconformiſts about London were connived at, and people went openly to their meetings, tho' the houſe of commons petitioned againſt them. By this time, however, their ſufferings had excited much compaſſion, and the number of diſſenters had greatly increaſed, eſpecially after the plague and fire in London, when moſt of the regular clergy deſerted their cures, and left the field open to the Diſſenters, who preached and diſcharged every other miniſterial duty in the city at all riſques.

After this the king would have agreed to a ſcheme of the comprehenſion of ſome of the diſſenters, and a toleration of the reſt, and ſome perſons of influence about the court endeavoured to bring it about; but it was blaſted by the court biſhops and the friends of Lord Clarendon. On this the perſecution was renewed, and the private meetings, which had been connived at, were broken up. And now the conventicle act was renewed in April A. D. 1670, with an additional penalty. The offender was to pay five ſhillings for the firſt offence, and ten for the ſecond; and the perſons who knowingly ſuffered ſuch conventicles were to forfeit twenty pounds. The oaths of any two witneſſes before a juſtice of peace was ſufficient for conviction. Of theſe fines one third

went

went to the king, another to the poor, and a third to the informer. Alſo any houſe might be broken into in which ſuch meetings were ſuſpected to be held.

Great numbers were proſecuted on this act, many induſtrious families reduced to poverty, many miniſters confined in cloſe priſons, and great ſums of money levied. In the dioceſe of Saliſbury many hundreds, were driven from their families and trades, and many of the traders left London to go to Holland, till the king put a ſtop to it. Soldiers broke into the houſes of the farmers on the pretence of ſearching for conventicles, and where money was wanting, they plundered their goods, and drove away their cattle. All this time the catholics were at their eaſe, ſheltered by the prerogative, and their number increaſed very much.

With a view to favour the catholics ſtill more, the king by his own authority, in A. D. 1671, ſuſpended all the penal laws againſt them, and the nonconformiſts too, tho' the Catholics were not allowed the public exerciſe of their religion. The Diſſenters were far from approving this diſpenſing power of the crown, but they were glad to avail themſelves of it; and accordingly moſt of the miniſters took out the licences which the declaration required. Great numbers attended their meetings,

and

and moderate and cautious addreſſes of thanks were preſented to the king for this liberty.

On the alarm excited by the increaſe of popery towards the end of this reign, the parliament began to be diſpoſed to make a diſtinction between the Diſſenters and the papiſts; and the former entertained ſome hopes of a legal toleration. But all that was done was the paſſing an act called the *Teſt Act*, which required every perſon bearing an office of truſt or power, to receive the Lord's Supper according to the uſage of the church of England, as well as to declare their diſbelief of the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation. Tho' it was evident that this teſt would exclude the Diſſenters, as well as the papiſts; yet, confiding in the favourable diſpoſition of the country, they heartily concurred in the meaſure. But they were diſappointed in their expectation of any favour being ſhewn them for this. On the contrary, the act was put in force againſt them from that time to the preſent, and all the attempts to get it repealed, except in Ireland, have been fruſtrated by the oppoſition of the clergy.

The court was exceedingly offended with the Diſſenters for not preventing the paſſing of the teſt act, as it was taken for granted they would have done; and the indulgence being revoked, a whole tribe of informers was let looſe againſt them, and

Mr. Baxter, and many others ſuffered grievously in conſequence of it. He ſaid he was ſo weary of keeping his doors ſhut againſt perſons who came to diſtrain his goods for preaching, that he was forced to ſell them and leave his houſe. He had been twelve years deprived even of his books. For after paying dear for their carriage during two or three years, he was obliged to ſell them. This was the caſe of many other learned Diſſenters. They were ſeparated from their families and friends, and forced to ſell their books and houſehold goods for a ſubſiſtence.

Theſe ſufferings, however, excited the compaſſion of many; and the houſe of commons, alarmed at the inſolence of the papiſts, who challenged the Proteſtant divines to diſputations, and even threatened to aſſaſſinate thoſe who preached againſt their tenets, that a bill was brought in for the indulgence of Proteſtant Diſſenters, but the king prorogued the parliament.

In A. D. 1678, the papiſts formed a conſpiracy to maſſacre many of the Proteſtants, and ſome intended to kill the king, in order to advance the duke of York, and eſtabliſh the popiſh religion; and in caſe of non-ſucceſs the whole was to have been thrown upon the Diſſenters. But the authors of it were diſcovered, and confeſſed the whole ſcheme. This popiſh plot having failed, the courtiers

tiers attempted to bring odium upon the Diſſenters by accuſing them of another plot, but this too was happily diſcovered, as well as others which were contrived to implicate the Diſſenters.

The Commons in parliament made another attempt to relieve the Diſſenters, and paſſed a bill to comprehend them in the eſtabliſhment. This not ſucceeding, they paſſed another to repeal many of the penal laws againſt them; but the more the commons were diſpoſed to favour them, the more violent were the court and the biſhops againſt them; ſo that the laws againſt them were executed with more rigour than ever. In the village of Hackney only warrants were ſigned to the amount of fourteen thouſand pounds. Two hundred warrants of diſtreſs were iſſued upon private perſons and families in the town and neighbourhood of Uxbridge, for frequenting conventicles, and not going to church. The juſtices of peace in Exeter promiſed a reward of forty ſhillings to any perſon who ſhould apprehend a nonconformiſt miniſter; and this the biſhop of the dioceſe ordered to be publiſhed in all the churches.

So grievous was this perſecution, that the earl of Caſtlemain, a Roman Catholic, ſaid it was never known that the Romans had perſecuted as the Engliſh biſhops did, viz. perſons who held the ſame

faith with themſelves; and that this perſecution even exceeded that of queen Mary.

When James II came to the crown he promiſed, tho' a profeſſed catholic, to preſerve the government as by law eſtabliſhed in church and ſtate. This gratified the clergy, and the doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance echoed from their pulpits with reſpect to this popiſh prince, as much as to the preceding Proteſtant ones. The parliament alſo preſented an addreſs, requeſting him to put the penal laws into execution. On this the ſtorm which had ſlackened a little before the death of Charles II revived; and the king hoping to deſtroy the Diſſenters in the firſt place, and the clergy afterwards, heartily concured in the meaſure. The meeting houſes were then ſhut up, the buſineſs of informers was reſumed, and great cruelties enſued. The venerable Mr. Baxter was groſsly inſulted by judge Jefferies, and impriſoned two years, when the court changed its meaſures.

The rebellion of Monmouth furniſhed an additional handle for the perſecution of the Diſſenters. But this was ſo far from intimidating them, that ſome clergy of conſiderable eminence, as well as others, joined them at this time. Many fled to New England.

At length the eyes of the clergy began to open. They perceived that the king's intention was to overthrow

overthrow them, as well as the Diſſenters by their means, and ſome of them wrote warmly againſt popery. This offending the king, he, to mortify them, publiſhed a toleration for all ſects of religion, and with the conſent of all the twelve judges except one, this *diſpenſing power* in the crown was decreed to be lawful. On this the meeting houſes were opened again.

The churchmen ſeeing themſelves to be in danger, now courted the Diſſenters, giving them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of a comprehenſion and toleration in better times. But tho' the king now courted them, they would not fall into his meaſures to diſtreſs the church; and he ſeeing their temper ſaid, "they were an ill natured ſort of peo-"ple, and were not to be gained." We ſhall hereafter ſee that no ſooner was the danger of the church over, than the clergy forgot all their aſſurances of good will to the Diſſenters.

Mr. Delaune in his *Plea for the Nonconformiſts*, ſays that near eight thouſand Proteſtant Diſſenters periſhed in priſon in the reign of Charles II, and that within the compaſs of three years they ſuffered in their trades, &c. at leaſt two millions. He even queſtions whether in all the times ſince the reformation, including the reign of Mary, ſuch a number of chriſtians ſuffered death and loſs of their ſubſtance for religion. Mr. Jeremy White,

who collected a liſt of diſſenting ſufferers, had the names of ſixty thouſand who had ſuffered on a religious account between the reſtoration and the revolution, of whom five thouſand died in priſon. Mr. Neal ſuppoſes that their loſſes could not, on a moderate computation, amount to leſs than twelve or fourteen millions. And yet this account does not include the ſufferers in the reign of Elizabeth, or thoſe of James I, and Charles I. Notwithſtanding this, the number of Diſſenters was not leſſened; ſo true is the obſervation, that "The "blood of the martyrs is the ſeed of the church."

The Diſſenters, however, had the leſs reaſon to complain of the hardſhips to which they were expoſed, as they ſtill retained principles that would have led them to perſecute others. When it was propoſed by the king at a conference held at the Savoy, immediately after the reſtoration, that all perſons who did not diſturb the public peace ſhould have liberty to meet for public worſhip, Mr. Baxter, who was aware that this was intended to favour the Catholics, obſerved, that there ought to be a diſtinction between the *tolerable* and the *intolerable*, including in the latter deſcription the Catholics and the Socinians, for whom he ſaid they did not deſire any toleration.

In all theſe reigns the *Baptiſts*, of whom little is ſaid in the hiſtory of England before the time

ſo

of Edward VI, when Joan Bocher was put to death, but who were pretty numerous in the reign of queen Elizabeth, ſuffered more than thoſe of any other denomination of Diſſenters. Several of them were put to death in her reign, and many ſuffered grievouſly other ways; and before her death they were all, both natives and foreigners, baniſhed the kingdom under the penalty of impriſonment and confiſcation of their property; when many of them fled to Holland. Tho' no perſons could behave more peaceably, and their miniſters were in general men of eminent piety, and ſome of them learned, they were peculiarly obnoxious to the Preſbyterians, as well as the Epiſcopalians, and were never ſpared by either of them when they were in power.

SECTION XIII.

Of the Quakers.

IN times of public calamity the thoughts of many perſons are turned to religion, and of theſe ſome may be expected to be of an enthuſiaſtic turn of mind, imagining themſelves to be inſpired, and acting as under a divine impulſe. Such was the origin of the *Quakers* in the time of the civil wars. The firſt of them whoſe name is known was George Fox, a ſhoemaker in the north of England. He and his companions thought themſelves to be inſpired in the ſame manner as the apoſtles were, and conſequently ſufficiently authorized to reform all abuſes in the church. Hence they went about declaiming againſt all the modes of worſhip then in uſe, eſpecially epiſcopacy, frequently diſturbing congregations during divine ſervice, particularly inveighing againſt the miniſters, as *hirelings*; whereas they, like the apoſtles, took nothing for their labours. Giving this

this diſturbance to the public peace, they expoſed themſelves to great ſufferings, which they bore with the greateſt fortitude.

A female Quaker, in imitation of ſome of the antient prophets, went into the houſe of parliament in the time of Cromwell, with a trencher in her hand, and breaking it ſaid of him "Thus "ſhall he be broken in pieces." Another of them, Thomas Adams, complaining to the protector of the impriſonment of ſome of his friends, and finding no redreſs, took off his cap, and tore it in pieces before him, ſaying, "So ſhall the govern-"ment be torn from thee and thy houſe."

Others were guilty of great indecencies approaching to inſanity, and from the violent agitation with which they conducted themſelves at their public worſhip, they got the appellation of *Quakers*; but the only name by which they deſignated one another was that of *Friends*.

Eſteeming their inſpiration to be equal to that of the antient prophets, and apoſtles, they at firſt made but little account of the ſcriptures, or any poſitive inſtitutions, never adminiſtering baptiſm, or the Lord's Supper. Not to arrogate too much to themſelves, they taught that all men had within them a divine ſupernatural light, which, if they gave due attention to it, would be their ſufficient guide. This they called *the light within*, and ſometimes

ſometimes *Chriſt within*, who in the goſpel is called *the true light*. It was, therefore, uſual with them to ſay that Chriſt was in every man. They conſequently did not confine chriſtianity to the nominal chriſtians, but thought that even heathens, attending to their divine light, would obtain the ſame happineſs with any others of the human race. With the myſtics they held that by contemplation and a ſteady attention to this inward light, the ſoul, freed from the pollution of the groſs body, became united to God; and having a debaſing idea of the body, and of matter in general, they did not believe that there would be any literal reſurrection of the dead, but that this ſcripture doctrine was to be underſtood in ſome figurative ſenſe.

No people ever ſhewed greater firmneſs in time of perſecution than the Quakers, or aſſerted the rights of Engliſhmen againſt the arbitrary proceedings of the courts of law with more courage and effect. The trial of Mr. Penn and Mr. Mead is one of the moſt memorable and inſtructive in the Engliſh hiſtory.

The Quakers being kept out of their meeting houſe in Grace-church ſtreet, by an armed force, met in the open ſtreet, but in the moſt peaceable manner, and theſe two, having been the principal ſpeakers, were on the 1ſt of September A. D. 1670 tried for a riot, and inſulted by the court in the groſſeſt

groſſeſt manner. The jury, however, only brought them in *Guilty of ſpeaking in Grace-church ſtreet.* This being deemed no verdict, they were threatened and ſent back, when Mr. Penn ſaid to them, "Ye are Engliſhmen, mind your privilege, give "not away your right;" to which ſome of them anſwered, *We never will.* They were then ſhut up all night without victuals, fire, or a chamber pot; tho' they petitioned for one. The next morning they ſtill gave the ſame verdict. Being ſent back, and threatened again, they brought their verdict *Not guilty,* and on this they were fined forty marks apiece.

The Quakers continuing to meet in the ſame place, and at the ſame hour, always following the conſtables to priſon, refuſing to pay any fines, or priſon fees, the government was at length tired of contending with them.

When the Quakers meet for public worſhip, they are confined by no forms, and at firſt any perſon preſent, who thought himſelf moved by the ſpirit, was allowed to addreſs the audience; but finding the inconvenience of this, they afterwards ſet apart ſome for the work of the miniſtry, and this is not confined to the men, for women may be of this claſs. But they think all the valuable purpoſes of their meetings ſufficiently anſwered by each perſon attending to the light within himſelf;

ſelf; and they often continue in ſilent meditation, without any exhortation or prayer; and they never ſing.

The morals of the Quakers are very exemplary, and they reject all ſuperfluity of dreſs, and uſe the greateſt plainneſs of ſpeech, uſing always the ſecond perſon ſingular, in addreſſing a ſingle perſon, and giving no title of honour to any man, or ſhewing reſpect by putting off the hat; and they lay aſide the uſual ſalutations and complimentary forms in letters, &c. But continuing theſe practices in all their rigour, they depart from the ſpirit of their original principles in keeping up to their forms. For the profeſſed deſign of their plainneſs of ſpeech and of dreſs, was not to have their minds unneceſſarily occupied with the cuſtoms and things of the world. But when this ſect was formed the ſame plainneſs of ſpeech and of dreſs was univerſal in the middle claſſes of ſociety, ſo that they were not diſtinguiſhed from other perſons of the ſame rank; whereas, as the faſhions afterwards changed, they by keeping to the old ones appeared ſingular, and thereby drew particular attention upon themſelves, and of courſe gave more attention to themſelves, in thoſe reſpects, than other perſons. They would have gained their object more effectually by being equally careful neither to lead, nor to neglect the prevailing faſhions.

The

The Quakers, like the Anabaptiſts on the continent, take no oaths, and renounce the right of ſelf defence.

After ſome time a few men of ability and learning joined the Quakers, as Robert Barclay, George Keith, and ſome others, who were capable of writing in their defence, of checking their extravagancies, and reducing their doctrines and diſcipline into ſome form; tho' depending on immediate inſpiration, they never made much account of, or greatly encouraged, human learning.

Notwithſtanding this advantage, in conſequence of refuſing to take any oath, and eſpecially to pay tythes to a hireling miniſtry, they were neceſſarily expoſed to great hardſhips, which continued till the reign of James II, who, willing to favour the Catholics, and being alſo under ſome obligations to one of their body, viz. William Penn, or his father, who had ſerved under him in the fleet, granted his indulgence to them as well as to other Diſſenters. Many of the Quakers, however fled to foreign countries, and ſeveral of them procured a ſettlement in Holland. But great numbers accompanied Mr. Penn to America, where he had obtained a grant of land under the crown, with liberty to ſettle it in whatever manner he pleaſed. There he founded a colony called after him *Penſylvania*, and gave to the capital the name of *Philadelphia*.

ladelphia. Giving entire liberty of conſcience to all ſettlers, and behaving with the greateſt juſtice and kindneſs to the natives, this colony ſoon became one of the moſt flouriſhing on that extenſive continent, and continues to be ſo to this day.

So ignorant of hiſtory and theology were the great body of the Quakers at their outſet, that numbers of them maintained that there never was any other Chriſt than that which is in every man, and that the whole of the evangelical hiſtory is an allegory. This Keith, who was a man of learning, oppoſed, and it occaſioned a controverſy among them, which terminated in his expulſion from their body, and his conforming to the church of England.

Penn, beſides being a ſtateſman, wrote a number of theological tracts, by which it appears that he was an Unitarian, and a ſtrenuous oppoſer of the doctrine of atonement. But the writer of whom the Quakers make their greateſt boaſt is Robert Barclay, who wrote a work entitled *An Apology* for their ſect, in which, with great art, and in the forms of Scholaſtic theology, he defended their principles, and to it he prefixed a manly dedication to Charles II.

As the principles of the Quakers cut them off from all public employments and honours, they neceſſarily

neceſſarily apply themſelves to agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and many of them becoming by this means wealthy, have relaxed of the auſterity of their anceſtors; and converſing more with the world, and having their minds improved by reading, many of them, without deſerting their friends, reconcile the ſyſtem to their minds by explanations which the more rigid Quakers do not approve. With many of them the *light within* is nothing more than what is more commonly called the light of conſcience, and not any thing ſupernatural, and they acknowledge that their ſpeakers addreſs them not from any proper inſpiration, but as their own ability and prudence enable and direct them to do it. Many of them alſo lay aſide all their peculiarities in ſpeech and dreſs, ſo that outwardly they are not diſtinguiſhable from other perſons.

Tho' the Quakers began without any regular diſcipline, they ſoon found the inconvenience of it, and they are now the moſt orderly of all ſocieties, dividing the country into diſtricts, and having regular officers in each. Refuſing to have any connection with the eſtabliſhed church, they marry among themſelves, and they alſo provide for their own poor; and they hold an annual meeting in London from all parts of the king-

dom,

dom, and make a common purſe to defray the expences occaſioned by their ſufferings, and other demands upon them.

SECTION XIV.

Of the State of Religion in Scotland in the Reign of the Stuarts.

KING James was educated a Preſbyterian, and till towards the end of his reign in Scotland appeared zealous for that ſyſtem, which was firmly eſtabliſhed in the country. The laſt hand being put to the Preſbyterian diſcipline in Scotland in A. D. 1594. In A. D. 1544 the parliament had voted for the biſhops to be no more than paſtors of one pariſh. In A. D. 1577 they ordered that all biſhops ſhould be called by their own names, and the next year they voted the name

name itſelf of biſhop to be a grievance. In A. D. 1580 the General Aſſembly with one voice declared dioceſan epiſcopacy to be unſcriptural and unlawful. The ſame year king James with his family, and the whole nation, ſubſcribed a confeſſion of faith, with a ſolemn league and covenant annexed, obliging themſelves to maintain and defend the Proteſtant doctrine and Preſbyterian government. In A. D. 1587 the king being then of the full age of twenty one, conſented to an act to take away the biſhops lands and annex them to the crown. In A. D. 1584 all preſentations to benefices had been directed to the particular preſbyteries with full power to give collations, and ratifying all former acts in favour of the Preſbyterian diſcipline. This was confirmed in A. D. 1593 and 1594, ſo that from that time to A. D. 1612, Preſbyterianiſm was undoubtedly the legal eſtabliſhment of the church of Scotland, and evidently with the full conſent of the king. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 489.

Notwithſtanding this it is probable that through the inſinuations of the Engliſh biſhops, and other friends of the hierarchy in England, ſome time before he left Scotland, he had projected the reſtoration of epiſcopacy there; and immediately on his arrival in England he nominated biſhops to the thirteen ſees that had been aboliſhed, and reſto-

red to them their votes in parliament, with the titles of *lords of parliament*, and in A. D. 1610, he inveſted them with the high commiſſion. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 81. This being a new creation he had ſome of the clergy conſecrated by the biſhops in England, and theſe conveyed the ſpiritual character to their brethren in Scotland. This was in the time of archbiſhop Bancroft, the moſt violent perſecutor of the Puritans, and not long before his death.

Theſe biſhops, however, had little more than the title. To give them more power, in A. D. 1617 he made a progreſs into Scotland attended by biſhop Laud, and a parliament being called, he propoſed two acts relating to religion, one concerning his prerogative and the apparel of the clergy, and the other for the ratification of the former acts touching religion. But tho' the lords conſented to the article concerning his prerogative, they diſſented to all the reſt. The king, however, would not hear of any diſtinction, requiring them to ſay yes or no to both. This being done, the clerk declared that the majority ſaid yes; and tho' this was not believed to be the caſe, and a ſcrutiny was demanded, the king would not allow of it.

The year following he ſummoned a convention to meet at Perth, when he carried five articles conformable to the practice of the church of England.

gland, as that of kneeling at the Lord's Supper, &c. but tho' the miniſters were required to read them from their pulpits, the greater number refuſed to do it; having at that time nothing to fear beſides the king's diſpleaſure. But in A. D. 1621 theſe articles were confirmed, tho' with difficulty, by the parliament; and this was the beginning of the perſecution in that kingdom, many of the miniſters being fined, impriſoned, and baniſhed by the high commiſſion. Dreading, however, an inſurrection, the king forbore to introduce the book of common prayer.

When the king left Scotland, Laud framed articles for the king's chapels in that kingdom, conformable to thoſe which he had introduced into thoſe in England; but the Scotch miniſters preached againſt them, and warned the people to defend their liberties. *Neal*, Vol. 2, p. 232.

In the reign of Charles I the biſhops declaring openly for Arminianiſm, ſports on the Lord's day, and the liturgy of the church of England, were regarded with the greateſt abhorrence by the common people. To ſupport them the king gave them the beſt ſecular employments in the country, which excited the envy of the nobility and gentry. Of this they were ſo ſenſible, that they adviſed the king not to truſt the intended alterati-

ons in religion to the parliament, or the general aſſembly, but to introduce them by his own authority.

At length the book of canons and of common prayer intended for Scotland being finiſhed, they were confirmed by the great ſeal in A. D. 1635, and nothing could have been drawn up more offenſive to the Scottiſh nation. The firſt of the canons excommunicated all thoſe who affirmed that the power of the king was not equal to that of the Jewiſh king, meaning that it was abſolute and unlimitted; and the object of the reſt was to reduce every thing to the Engliſh model. But the book was no ſooner publiſhed than the Scotch preſbyteries openly declared againſt it.

The new liturgy was appointed to be uſed in Eaſter A. D. 1637; but tho' for fear of a commotion, it was put off from time to time, when it was read in the great church at Edinburgh, where the biſhops and ſeveral lords of ſeſſion attended, the ſervice was ſo much interrupted, that it could not be finiſhed till the common people were turned out of the place, and then they threw ſtones at the windows; and when the clergy went out they were in danger of being torn in pieces. The court being informed of this, orders were ſent down to proceed with the work notwithſtanding this oppoſition.

The

The council being apprehenſive of danger from large aſſemblies of the people, agreed that they ſhould appoint a number of all the orders to repreſent the reſt, till the king's pleaſure ſhould be known concerning a *proteſt* that had been ſigned by many perſons of all orders againſt the late meaſures. Accordingly four *tables*, as they were called, were formed, of the nobility, the gentry, the burgeſſes, and the miniſters, when they agreed to renew their confeſſion of faith, and the ſolemn league and covenant, which had been ſubſcribed by king James in A. D. 1581, and by all the Scotch nation in A. D. 1590; and to this was now added a *band of defence* for adhering to each other in the preſent caſe. In this they engaged to oppoſe to the utmoſt of their power various particulars of popiſh doctrine, diſcipline and ceremonies, which they enumerate, and to defend the antient doctrine and diſcipline of their kirk. This was received by the common people as a ſacred oracle.

The king, alarmed at theſe proceedings, and beginning to be embroiled with his parliament in England, which made it deſirable for him to conciliate the Scots, ſent the marquis of Hamilton with power to revoke, if neceſſary, all that had been done with reſpect to the canons, the liturgy, and the high commiſſion. With this view he publiſh-

ed a proclamation for the meeting of a general aſſembly at Glaſgow in November 1ſt, A. D. 1638, but deſpairing of gaining any thing by them, he diſſolved them after they had ſat ſeven days. The members, however, continued to ſit, and publiſhed a proteſtation to juſtify their proceedings, and did not break up till they had paſſed ſeveral acts condemning the ſervice book &c. aboliſhing epiſcopacy, and reſtoring preſbytery, &c.

This brought on a war, in which the king marched towards Scotland in perſon. But finding his army not hearty in the cauſe, he entered into a pacification with the Scots, and a general aſſembly being called at Edinburgh confirmed the proceedings at Glaſgow, and moreover made a declaration againſt the lawfulneſs of dioceſan epiſcopacy. The parliament, which met ſoon after this, confirmed all their acts, and with the king's conſent the members ſigned the ſolemn league and covenant.

The king ſeeing no other method of getting the better of his Engliſh parliament than by gratifying the Scots, went to Edinburgh; and the parliament meeting him, he conſented to an act by which it was declared that the government of the church by biſhops and archbiſhops is contrary to the word of God, and was therefore aboliſhed. And while the king was in the country he conformed to the Preſbyterian mode of worſhip, ſo that when

when he went away, it was ſaid he departed "a "contented king from a contented people." Of this conſent to the act againſt epiſcopacy, the king afterwards ſorely repented. And notwithſtanding this compliance with the wiſhes of the people, the Scots ſaw no reaſon to truſt him while he was governed by a popiſh queen and Engliſh biſhops. They therefore cultivated a good underſtanding with the Engliſh parliament, which was kept up to the death of the king.

Charles II being invited to Scotland confirmed every thing relating to the eſtabliſhment of Preſbytery, and promiſed never to endeavour to make any change in it. He took the ſolemn league and covenant three times, "ſwearing "by the eternal "and almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for "ever, that he would maintain every thing con-"tained in it."

When Monk was left by Cromwell after the defeat of Charles to command in the country, he made no alteration reſpecting religion, but when he ordered that no perſon ſhould ſuffer in his civil rights on that account, the rigid Preſbyterians were offended.

After the reſtoration the Preſbyterians in Scotland were as much diſappointed as thoſe in England. For the king having got a parliament to his mind, he declared his reſolution to reſtore the

church of Scotland to its rightful government by biſhops as before the troubles; and accordingly biſhops were conſecrated for all the vacant ſees. Mr. James Guthrie, who preached againſt this change, was condemned and executed. All the Preſbyterian miniſters were ſilenced, tho' the court had no ſupply of clergymen to fill their places, and thoſe who did ſucceed them, Biſhop Burnet ſays, were moſtly mean divines, vicious and idle. In Ireland alſo the hierarchy was reſtored as well as in Scotland.

In conſequence of theſe meaſures, the ſufferings of the Scots were not exceeded by thoſe of the non-conformiſts in England, but the people were not ſo ſubmiſſive. The people in general forſook the churches, tho great numbers were impriſoned and ſuffered otherways on account of it, and many removed to Ireland.

Exorbitant fines were impoſed for not going to church, and ſoldiers were quartered on all who were refractory till they were ruined. At length ſir James Turner being ſent to levy fines at diſcretion, the people had recourſe to arms; but being finally overpowered, forty were killed, and one hundred and thirty taken priſoners; and of theſe many were hanged at their own doors. Mr. Maccail their miniſter was put to the torture, but he bore it and his death in ſuch a manner as ſtruck all

all who were preſent, and impreſſed them in favour of the cauſe for which he ſuffered.

When the *indulgence* was publiſhed in London, the Scots availed themſelves of it; but when it was revoked the perſecution revived with inexpreſſible ſeverity under the duke of Lauderdale. In theſe circumſtances the people met for public worſhip with arms to defend themſelves. Many were outlawed; and theſe forming themſelves into a body openly oppoſed the government. But they were defeated, and four hundred of them killed, and twelve hundred taken priſoners. On this two of their miniſters were hanged, and two hundred baniſhed, while great numbers went to the plantations in America.

On the acceſſion of James II the parliament ſeconded his views in paſſing an act which made it death to reſort to any conventicle in houſes or fields, and high treaſon to take the covenant or to write in defence of it. The people were alſo required to take an oath to acknowledge the king's abſolute power on pain of baniſhment.

When the Engliſh court changed their meaſures in favour of toleration, the Scottiſh parliament agreed to a ſuſpenſion of all the penal laws during the life of the king, but they would not repeal them altogether, on which they were diſſolved.

On the the acceſſion of king William epiſcopacy was finally aboliſhed in Scotland; and tho' a rebellion was excited by the friends of James, it was ſoon ſuppreſſed, and Preſbyterianiſm has been the eſtabliſhed religion in Scotland from that time to the preſent.

SECTION XV.

Miſcellaneous Articles.

1. THIS period was diſtinguiſhed by an application to literature far exceeding any other, and the purſuits of men of letters were far more various. Great light was by this means thrown upon every thing relating to antiquity, and the early hiſtory of the chriſtian church, whereby many abuſes were traced to their ſource, and impoſitions of various kinds expoſed. The languages in which the

the ſcriptures were written were generally ſtudied, and thereby much new light thrown upon them, and the authority of Ariſtotle in the ſchools of philoſophy and logic, almoſt every where overthrown, firſt by the labours of Peter Ramus, a profeſſor at Paris, and who periſhed in the maſſacre of St. Bartholemew, Gaſſendi, and Deſcartes, whoſe ſyſtems it is not the object of this work to explain; while the only true key to natural philoſophy was given by Lord Bacon, and before the cloſe of this period was made great uſe of by Mr. Boyle, ſoon followed by Sir Iſaac Newton, who appeared with great luſtre very early in the next period.

The advantage derived from theſe literary purſuits was that the ſhackles of *authority* of every kind being broken, and all men left without reſtraint to ſpeculate at pleaſure, the foundation was laid for real knowledge of every kind, and in the next period much was built upon it.

2. In this period pope Gregory XIII corrected the Italian calendar, which had been uſed by all chriſtians, and introduced that ſyſtem of computing time, and ſettling the feſtivals of the church, which has ever ſince been called *the New Style*, and diſtinguiſhed from the former, which was ſtill retained by all the Proteſtant ſtates, and then differed ten days from the other.

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In A. D. 1643 pope Clement VIII publiſhed a bull for leſſening the number of holydays obſerved in thechurch of Rome. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 396.

3. Much good was produced by the reformation in countries that continued catholic, many abuſes eſpecially in diſcipline having been corrected. This however, was not effected immediately. The following are traces of great abuſes in France ſubſequent to the time of Luther.

The biſhop of Valence, in his ſpeech at the aſſembly of the ſtates in A. D. 1560, complained that ſometimes forty biſhops were ſeen at Paris, wallowing in pleaſure and idleneſs. *Laval*, Vol. 1, p. 263. The chancellor in his ſpeech in A. D. 1562 ſaid, "how many prieſts have ſent away their harlots, in order to put a ſtop to the complaints that were made againſt them," *Ib.* p. 613. In an aſſembly of the clergy at Molun in A. D. 1579, the biſhop of Bazar ſaid, that very great abuſes were committed in the choice of biſhops, of which the king himſelf was guilty; that there were twenty eight ſees deſtitute of biſhops, the revenues of which were enjoyed by laymen, and that the performance of divine ſervice was entirely neglected in them; that a great number of abbeys were in the hands of laymen, and miſerablyplundered by them; that even in the king's council a biſhoprick had

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been beſtowed on one of the court ladies, and ſeveral other things of this nature. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 286.

4. In this period, in which ſo much zeal was ſhewn for religion, it was not ſafe for any man to profeſs infidelity. We find, however, ſome unbelievers. In France Cæſar Vanini, a Neapolitan, the author of ſome works of an atheiſtical tendency, was publickly burned at Thouloufe after having his tongue cut out, in A. D. 1629. There have been ſome who maintained that he was no Atheiſt. But after the account of him in *Bayle's Dictionary*, it is hardly poſſible to doubt it. Indeed, his avowed admiration of Ariſtotle and Averroes almoſt amounts to a proof of it. A witneſs of his death ſays, that he boaſted that he would die like a philoſopher, but that he did not ſuffer with the meekneſs or fortitude of a chriſtian. Nothing, however, can juſtify the dreadful puniſhment to which he was expoſed.

At Florence we find Coſmo Ruggeri, an avowed atheiſt, who died at Paris in A. D. 1615; and in A. D. 1689, a little after this period, Caſimir Leſzynſki, a Poliſh knight, ſuffered death at Warſaw for denying the being and providence of God. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 251.

Calvin had to contend not only with many who pleaded for the liberty, or rather, the licentiouſneſs

ouſneſs of former times, as the toleration of brothels, &c. but with ſome unbelievers, among whom was Gruet, who denied the divine miſſion of Chriſt, the immortality of the ſoul, and the difference between moral good and evil. For theſe tenets he was brought before the civil tribunal, and in A. D. 1550 was condemned to death. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 124.

In this period flouriſhed Spinoza, a Jew of Holland, who was born in A. D. 1633, and died in A. D. 1677, generally conſidered as an Atheiſt. His opinion, as appears chiefly from his poſthumous works, was that there was but *one ſubſtance in nature*, that it is poſſeſſed of intelligence, as well as extenſion, and that the ſouls of men and all other beings are parts, or modifications, of this one ſubſtance. It is probable that he was an unbeliever in revelation, tho' he wrote nothing on the ſubject.

I would obſerve, however, that while he admitted a principle of intelligence, and did not deny that of benevolence, to exiſt in the univerſe, he could not be properly termed an atheiſt; becauſe he acknowledged all the attributes of divinity, in whatever ſubſtance he might ſuppoſe them to reſide, and he could not deny that theſe attributes are perpetually active. There was,

therefore, nothing in his doctrine that was neceſſarily inconſiſtent with the belief of a providence, and moral government of the world, or conſequently with that of a ſtate of retribution after death. He might therefore have been, tho' it is probable he was not, a believer in the Jewiſh and Chriſtian revelations. All that can in ſtrictneſs be ſaid of him, is that he fell into a metaphyſical abſurdity, in ſuppoſing the ſame thing to be the *cauſe* and the *effect*.

In this period ſeveral learned chriſtians are ſaid to have embraced Judaiſm, and among them was Rittangel, a Roman Catholic, tho' ſome ſay that after this he became a Lutheran. He was profeſſor of the oriental languages at Konigſberg. Antony, a miniſter at Geneva, was burned for having abjured chriſtianity in favour of Judaiſm, in A. D. 1632, and the Jews conſider him as a martyr that does them great honour. *Catalogue Raiſonne des esprits forts*, a Berlin, A. D. 1768, p. 91, &c. *Nouveau Dictionaire Hiſtorique* 1789. It is only in the former of theſe works that I find any account of Antony of Geneva.

PERIOD

PERIOD XXIV.

FROM THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES IN A. D. 1685, TO THE PRESENT TIME, A. D. 1802.

SECTION I.

Of the conſequences of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and particularly of the War in the Cevennes.

THE revocation of the edict of Nantes which was thought to be a maſter ſtroke of policy, and what would be of the greateſt advantage to the country, uniting all the ſubjects in one faith, and one intereſt, was immediately a ſource of the greateſt evils with which any part of Europe was afflicted. The ſufferings of the Proteſtants, againſt whom the meaſure was directed, were extreme,

and upon the whole not inferior to thoſe occaſioned by the apparently more violent proceedings of Philip II of Spain; and eventually France itſelf ſuſtained an injury in a civil reſpect in the loſs of numbers of its moſt worthy, induſtrious, ingenious, and wealthy inhabitants, that more than a century did not repair.

The time fixed for the miniſters to abjure their religion, or leave the kingdom, was only a fortnight, under the penalty of being ſent to the gallies; but even this liberty was often rendered uſeleſs by various artifices. For by the contrivance of the clergy ſecret orders were frequently given to prevent their embarking within the time, or diſpoſing of their property. Their debtors were abſolved by their confeſſors when they denied the debts due to them. Children were taken from their parents, with a view to ſhake their conſtancy; and ſome of the miniſters who ventured to exerciſe any act of their office contrary to the law, were broken alive on the wheel. For ſuch was the penalty annexed to this offence.

The laity were forbidden to leave the kingdom on any pretence whatever. But yet great numbers of both ſexes and of all ages fled through by ways to avoid being compelled to conform to the eſtabliſhed religion, or ſuffer for their refuſal. Of theſe, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the officers of government,

vernment, not leſs, it is thought, than three hundred thouſand effected their eſcape, and were hoſpitably received by the Proteſtant ſtates. Great numbers, however, were apprehended in theſe attempts, and the priſons and gallies were filled with them. Sometimes of two hundred that were chained together, one hundred would be Proteſtants; and of theſe, it is ſuppoſed, that three fourths were deſtroyed by the baſtinado, for not bowing at the elevation of the hoſt, and other hardſhips; and moſt of thoſe that were alive when this account was written, the writer ſays, were confined in dungeons, where they paſſed all their time in abſolute ſolitude, and in circumſtances barely ſupportable with reſpect to accommodations of every kind, till they were releaſed by death. Of this ſome examples will be given in the next ſection.

After the peace with Spain, the ſoldiers were encouraged in every act of violence towards the Proteſtants. They went from houſe to houſe, and when they found any perſon who refuſed to go to maſs, they plundered them at pleaſure. To ſome houſes drummers were ſent, who beat their drums night and day, to prevent the family from taking any reſt. Some perſons, and ſome of them of rank and fortune, they treated in the moſt cruel manner; as putting hot irons into their ſhoes, or putting them into deep pits or wells, till they were chill-

ed with cold; and various other acts of wanton cruelty were exerciſed upon them.

Things of this kind were done openly; but many were ſecretly put to death. Some were ſaid to be tranſported to Canada, where, however, they were no better treated than they were at home; but of theſe, it was ſuppoſed, many were drowned when they were out at ſea.

The Proteſtants were always the moſt numerous in the ſouthern provinces of France, and among them were ſome zealous miniſters, who ventured to ſtay and comfort their flocks, concealing themſelves as well as they could. Of theſe was one Mr. Brouſſon, but in A. D. 1699, he was taken and broken alive on the wheel at Montpellier; but his piety and conſtancy in ſuffering this cruel puniſhment, made a great impreſſion on many, and inflamed the zeal of the Proteſtants in thoſe parts. After him came a Mr. Roman, with two others of the name of Plan. Both of theſe were taken and hanged, but Roman after being put in priſon was reſcued, and eſcaped to Germany.

Among the moſt zealous for their religion were many boys of the age of fifteen and ſixteen; and of theſe about twenty aſſembled to ſing pſalms before the door of the church in a village called Montel, near Ales in the Cevennes, which induced the prieſt to ſend ſome of them, together with their parents,

rents, to priſon. Of theſe ſome made their eſcape, and at a place called Brignon they went into the church, and pulling down the images and croſſes, openly burned them. Being purſued by the militia, ſome of them were killed, and others taken; but ſome fled to the woods, where they were ſoon joined by others. Among thoſe one of the name of Daniel ſhewed the greateſt zeal, exhorting the reſt, and praying with them in a manner that excited the greateſt fervour.

On this an order was ſent from the court, that wherever ſix perſons were aſſembled together, the ſoldiers might fire upon them, without waiting for any particular orders. After this Daniel being caught, and two of his companions, he was hanged, and they ſent to the gallies. But this did not damp the courage of the reſt, and they continued to aſſemble in the woods and on the mountains. Daniel was ſucceeded by one La Serre, who formed aſſemblies of Proteſtants in the upper Cevennes. Theſe, however, were diſcovered by the ſoldiers, who killed many of them, and took others priſoners.

The moſt violent and the moſt active of the enemies of the Proteſtants in this part of the country was the abbé Chelas, ſubdeligate of the intendant Baſville, whoſe benefice was in the Cevennes. He kept an exact account of all the Proteſtants in

his diſtrict, and whenever he miſſed any of them at maſs, he ſent for them on one pretence or other, and treated them in a cruel manner. Sometimes he had them tied to trees, whether they were men or women, and ſcourged with great ſeverity.

At length five or ſix perſons of both ſexes, being apprehended as they endeavoured to eſcape out of the kingdom, were confined in a cellar in his houſe, and tortured by him in the following manner. A beam of wood being cleft, he had their legs put into the opening, and ſqueezed till the bones were broken. He alſo applied other modes of torture. Theſe being heard of, one of the Proteſtant preachers whoſe name was *Eſprit*, ſaid to his congregation, that if thirty of the young men would go with him, he would engage to ſet thoſe priſoners at liberty. Twice that number immediately joined him, and they went with arms in open day to the village, in which the abbé lived, ſinging the ſixty eighth pſalm; and going to the houſe demanded the priſoners. On this he ordered the guards to fire, when two of the young men were killed, and ſeveral more were wounded. Not diſcouraged by this, they forced their way into the houſe, and carried off the priſoners; for they found them ſo bruiſed with the torture that they were not able to walk. The abbé, in endeavouring to make his eſcape was ſhot in the thigh, and being ſeized

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they had no regard to his begging for mercy, who had never ſhewn any, but ſhot him, and ſet fire to the houſe. From this they proceeded to other ſimilar acts of violence; but their conduct was much diſapproved by the generality of the Proteſtants in the neighbourhood.

The intendant Baſville, and count Broglio, who commanded in Languedoc, hearing of this, came with an armed force; and taking by ſurprize Eſprit, and ſome others of the party, they hanged them, and burned them alive. When they had done this, they iſſued a proclamation; ſaying that if thoſe who had been concerned in thoſe diſorders would diſperſe, and go to their homes, they would not be called to account for what had been done, but that otherwiſe they would be conſidered as rebels. Notwithſtanding this, thoſe who complied with theſe terms were taken, and hanged at their own doors. On this the reſt took refuge in the woods, and procured arms to defend themſelves; and the count ordered the houſes of all he could not take to be burned.

Being now ſo cloſely beſet that they could not get out of the kingdom, which they were deſirous of doing, they were encouraged by ſome of their body who had been in the army to keep together where they were, and defend themſelves as well as they could; and in order to get arms and

ammunition to go in ſufficient numbers, and diſarm the Catholics in the neighbourhood. This they ſoon did with great ſucceſs, attacking houſes in the night, but without doing any thing more than ſupplying their own wants.

Broglio, hearing of this, came with more troops; but tho' he followed them from place to place, they eaſily eluded his purſuit; ſo that he was not able to take any of them. When their number amounted to fifty or ſixty, they formed themſelves into regular companies, and appointed officers; and inſtead of being caught, they ſometimes ſurprized parties of ten or twelve of the enemy. But imprudently waiting the attack of two hundred of the kings troops, commanded by one Paul, they were put to flight; and were ſo diſheartened that for many days they did nothing but fly from one wood to another. In this ſituation frequently diſguiſing themſelves, and ſometimes with long beards, they got the appellation of *Barbets*, tho' they were afterwards more generally called *Camisards*, from ſome of them having put ſhirts over their clothes, to diſtinguiſh one another in their nocturnal expeditions, *camise* inſtead of *chemise*, being the name of ſhirt in that part of the country.

Notwithſtanding this defeat they had ſo many friends in their neighbourhood, that their numbers were ſoon recruited, and twenty of them attacked as many

many of the enemy with ſuch ſucceſs that not one of them eſcaped. Encouraged by this little victory they ventured to go out every night, to attack ſome of the ſmall garriſons which had been placed in the villages, in order the more effectually to ſurround and take them; and in this they were ſo ſucceſsful, that the ſoldiers were obliged to retire to fortified towns, for their greater ſecurity; and as theſe ſoldiers uſually paſſed the night in the churches, as places of greater ſecurity, the Camiſards made it a principal object to ſurprize and burn them.

This provoked Baſville and Broglio ſo much, that whenever they caught any of them or their friends, whether men, women, or children, they never ſpared them; ſo that the gallies were filled, and the ſcaffolds and gibbets, the writer ſays, were ſtained with their blood. This cruelty, however, ſerved to increaſe the army of the Camiſards. For the Proteſtants ſeeing no ſecurity at home, were in a manner compelled to join thoſe who kept the field. Soon after this they were joined by one La Porte, a perſon of a good family, who was generally called Jourdan, to diſtinguiſh him from another of their leaders of the name of La Porte. Theſe two, and Cavalier, the writer of this account, headed each a ſeparate company; and tho' in conſequence of this, the number under each was

inconſiderable, yet making their expeditions always in the night, and often diſguiſed, ſo as to make a frighful appearance, the country was kept in a ſtate of conſtant alarm, eſpecially after thirty five of them, being ſurprized in the day time, defeated a party of fifty of the enemy, with the loſs of no more than one man. This victory made a great noiſe. But the firſt thing that theſe pious warriors did was to proſtrate themſelves on the field of battle, to give God thanks for their ſucceſs.

They were farther encouraged by the arrival of two officers, of conſiderable experience in military affairs, who gave them good advice; and when Broglio, hearing of what had taken place, came with a reinforcement of troops, they not only eluded his purſuit, by their ſuperior knowledge of the country, but diſarmed the Catholics in ſeveral villages; and when they were attacked by a captain Bimard, he was killed in the engagement, and his troop purſued with great ſlaughter, while they had only four men wounded. On this occaſion alſo they gave God ſolemn thanks on the field of battle. On this Bimard they found one hundred piſtoles, which was of great ſervice to them in purchaſing clothes and ſtores.

The Sunday following this action, being chriſtmas, they kept with great devotion; and having given notice of it to all the Proteſtants in the neighbourhood,

bourhood, they joined them to the number of five hundred. The governor of Ales being informed of this, ſent a body of ſix hundred men to ſurpriſe them; and the perſon who commanded them was ſo confident of ſucceſs, that he took with him an aſs loaded with ropes to bind and hang them. But the Camiſards being apprized of his approach, diſmiſſed thoſe who only came to join in their devotions; and lying in wait for the enemy, killed an hundred of them, beſides wounding many more; and this with the loſs of only ſix of their own number. On the field of this battle they remained an hour, in part for the purpoſe of devotion, and in part to collect the arms and ammunition which the enemy left behind them.

In this ſtate of their affairs they appointed a commander in chief, and the choice fell upon Cavalier the writer of this account, and being joined by a perſon of the name of Roland, they found their numbers amount to two hundred and thirty men. Their firſt exploit after this was to ſurprize by ſtratagem the town of Savues which was walled and garriſoned. In this bold attempt they ſucceeded completely by ſome of their numbers getting admittance into it, on the pretence of their being part of the militia, who had been in purſuit of the Camiſards, and wanted refreſhments. Here, tho' maſters of the place, they did no injury to any perſon.

perſon. They only carried away the arms, and what elſe they wanted for their immediate uſe.

After this they defeated a party of ſoldiers that were on their march to Italy; and finding in the pocket of the commander an order to all mayors of towns, &c. to receive and lodge them, and their recruits, Cavalier made uſe of it to get admittance into a ſtrongly fortified caſtle, by which they had been greatly annoyed. They therefore put the garriſon to the ſword; and carrying off a great quantity of ammunition and proviſion, they ſet fire to the place.

This exploit gave ſo much alarm, that Marſhal Montrevel was ſent to ſuperſede Broglio, with ten thouſand men, to ſuppreſs them, but he had no more ſucceſs than his predeceſſor. At this time Cavalier had the command of four hundred men, and he had provided caverns in the mountains, where their proviſions and ammunition were depoſited, where alſo they had an arſenal for the manufacture of gun-power, and convenience for their ſick, and wounded. At one time when Cavalier was abſent, his lieutenant Ravanel was attacked by Broglio and Paul, when the former was wounded, and the latter killed, with the total diſperſion of their ſoldiers. They had various other ſucceſſes, but the approach of winter alarmed them much, and not being able to accommodate them

them all, the greater part diſperſed themſelves into the neighbouring villages, and only eighty remained in the woods. However by the help of their friends in the neighbourhood, they not only ſubſiſted all the winter, but at the end of it, which was the beginning of the year A. D. 1702, they found themſelves in good health and ſpirits.

In this year they had various ſucceſs, tho' in one action they loſt one of their generals, viz. La Porte. To balance this, Cavalier defeated a party of the enemy conſiſting of ſix hundred, ſo that ſixty of them only eſcaped. Their general too, the baron de la Roſſe was killed, while the Camiſards loſt only one man and had ſix wounded.

The Camiſards, could have raiſed many more forces, Cavalier ſays, if they had received the aſſiſtance which had been promiſed them from England and the allies, who were than at war with France. With twenty thouſand pounds ſterling he could have raiſed and armed fifty thouſand men, which, acting in the ſouth of France, would have been of great uſe to the common cauſe. However, notwithſtanding the paucity of their numbers, and the immenſe force that was now ſent againſt them, and tho' this was chiefly directed to the deſtruction of the villages abounding with Proteſtants, by whom they had been ſupplied, they

were

were generally ſucceſsful in their attack of ſmall parties and convoys; and while their enemies deſtroyed the villages occupied by their friends, they took their revenge on thoſe that were occupied by the Catholics. This ſucceſs continued through the year A. D. 1703, and at the beginning of A. D. 1704, Cavalier ſays that the troop which he commanded conſiſted of between one thouſand and twelve hundred foot, and an hundred horſe.

In this year Montrevel was ſucceeded by the famous marſhal Villars, who brought freſh troops, but what was more effectual, he brought propoſals of a conciliatory nature; ſending word to Cavalier that if he would lay down his arms, all his juſt demands would be granted; and in order to bring about an accommodation, he propoſed a conference with him. This propoſal was brought by a deputy, who, on taking his leave, threw down ſome money for each of the men who accompanied Cavalier to the place of interview, who were fifty horſe, bidding them drink the king's health; but not one of them would take it, ſaying they wanted not money but liberty of conſcience.

Cavalier having ſent his terms in writing, the following were granted, viz. that the Proteſtants in all the province ſhould have liberty of conſcience; that they might hold religious aſſemblies, but not in

cities,

cities, or walled towns, provided they did not build churches; that all who were detained in the priſons or gallies on account of religion ſince the revocation of the edict of Nantes, ſhould be liberated within ſix weeks; that all who had left the kingdom on the ſame account ſhould have liberty to return, and enjoy their privileges and eſtates, on taking the oath of allegiance; that the inhabitants of the Cevennes whoſe houſes had been burned in the wars ſhould pay no impoſts for ſeven years; and that out of his followers he ſhould raiſe a regiment of two thouſand, to ſerve in Portugal. He had demanded much more in favour of the French Proteſtants in general, but more could not be granted. A writing containing the terms here mentioned was ſigned by Marſhal Villars and Baſville on the part of the king, and by Cavalier and his lieutenant Billiard on that of the Camiſards, the 17th of May A. D. 1704.

Tho' Cavalier and his followers ſaw ſufficient ground for diſtruſting the ſincerity of the court, yet their affairs were at that time ſo low, their reſources of every kind being cut off, all their ſecret caverns having been diſcovered, and taken poſſeſſion of by the enemy, and the villages from which they drew their ſupport being deſtroyed, that they thought they could not do better than accede to the terms of this treaty.

Notwithſtanding

Notwithſtanding the expreſs ſtipulations of this treaty, the Camiſards ſoon found that little regard was paid to it by their enemies. Some, indeed, were releaſed from the priſons, but they had not the liberty of public worſhip, all perſons being apprehended who went to attend it, and Cavalier himſelf, on the pretence of employing him and his regiment, which he had found no difficulty in raiſing, in Germany, inſtead of Portugal, was conducted under a guard on the way to Briſac. He obtained leave to ſpeak to the king in perſon, which he did with great freedom on the ſubject of their revolt, and the only effectual remedy of the evil; but when he mentioned the *treaty*, he was forbidden to ſay any thing on the ſubject, directly or indirectly. The ſame injunction was laid upon him in his interview with Chamillard, the prime miniſter, afterwards, ſo that it was evident no regard would be paid to it.

In this ſtate of things Cavalier, being warned of his danger if he ſhould go to Briſac, laid hold of an opportunity of making his eſcape from his conductors, and going through Switzerland he entered into the ſervice of the duke of Savoy, then at war witn France; and afterwards he went to Holland, where he engaged in a regiment in the pay of the Dutch and Engliſh. When the war was concluded he went to England, and there he wrote his book.

In

In the mean time Roland, and the reſt of the Camiſards, ſeeing that no regard was paid to the treaty made with Cavalier, continued in arms; chuſing rather to die, as they ſaid, with their ſwords in their hands, than ſuffer what they muſt do if, on any promiſe from the court, they ſhould lay down their arms. But at length Roland being ſurprized and killed, and Ravanel completely abſconding, ſo as never to be heard of any more, the reſt of the Camiſards accepted a propoſal either to leave the kingdom, or give up their arms and reſettle on their lands; and this latter the greater part of them choſe to do, ſo that before the end of the year A. D. 1704, a final end was put to this revolt, during which, according to Mr. Brueys, who wrote the hiſtory of it under the title of *Hiſtoire de Fanatiſme* thirty two pariſhes were ſentenced to be entirely deſtroyed. They contained more than four hundred villages or hamlets. All the houſes were to be demoliſhed, and the inhabitants with their families and effects to be removed to diſtant places. Vol. 2, p. 220. This deſtruction of the houſes they were at firſt ordered to effect by labour; but to make it eaſier to them they afterwards had leave from the court to employ fire. The conſequence was, that a part of the country nearly forty leagues in extent, became a frightful deſert, that could not be ſeen without horror. *Ib.* p. 253.

This recourſe to arms cannot be defended on chriſtian principles, great as was the provocation that the perſecuted Proteſtants received. But much as they are to be cenſured on this account, and for the wild pretences to inſpiration and prophecy with which they are charged, and ſome artifices imputed to ſome of their leaders, the greater part, it cannot be doubted, acted from a principle of conſcience, and their devotion in the midſt of arms is truly exemplary and edifying.

"In our woods and deſarts," ſays Mr. Cavalier, p. 115 "our chief buſineſs was to apply our-"ſelves to religious exerciſes, in which we were aſ-"ſiſted by miniſters, who riſked their lives along "with us." They alſo choſe elders, and they were generally ſuch as had ſerved in that capacity in their churches. They conſtantly read the liturgy that had been uſed by them before. They had ſermons twice every Sunday, and prayers in the evening. When on a march they could not attend to theſe ſervices, they did not fail to have prayers in the evening, tho' they arrived at the rendezvous ever ſo late. They always ſung with loud voices. They had the Lords ſupper adminiſtered to them four times in the year.

Whenever they fought one of their miniſters ſaid prayers at their head, and exhorted them to fight with courage. They then ſung a pſalm, and went

went ſinging down the hills; and the ſound being increaſed by the echo from other hills, the enemy imagined that they were more numerous than they really were, and were by that means often ſtruck with terror. Whenever they could do it, they gave notice to the neighbourhood of the places where they had ſermons; and they were commonly very numerouſly attended, ſometimes he ſays by two thouſand perſons, and on thoſe occaſions they had centinels placed at proper diſtances. *Memoirs of Cavalier*, p. 120.

That ſome perſons, whoſe minds are much agitated, as thoſe of many muſt have been in ſuch troubles as thoſe occaſioned by the war in the Cevennes, perſons of a pious diſpoſition, willing to ſee the hand of God in every thing (as in a proper ſenſe it certainly is) but of weak underſtandings, ſhould not be able to diſtinguiſh ſuch natural emotions as they did not uſually experience from the impulſe, or ſuggeſtion of a foreign agent, and that they ſhould aſcribe theſe impulſes to the Supreme Being, acting in and by them, is by no means incredible. Such pious and honeſt enthuſiaſts as theſe, I doubt not, were among the Camiſards in the Cevennes, as they were among the Quakers in England. Alſo that perſons of no religion ſhould adopt their language, and imitate their geſtures, &c. and endeavour to acquire repu-

tatation and emolument by the impoſture, is equally credible. Such abandoned and artful people there are in all countries. And perſons of both theſe claſſes, I doubt not, there were at the time to which this hiſtory relates.

When the war was over ſeveral perſons left the country, and came to England, where they were ſoon noted for their pretenſions to inſpiration and prophecy, being thrown into convulſions, and then ſaying what they pretended they knew nothing of, but which was taken down by perſons preſent as oracles; and they were joined by many Engliſh perſons of both ſexes, who were affected and acted in the ſame manner. Three of the foreigners, called by way of diſtinction *the three Camiſards*, were more particularly famous; and a Mr. Lacy, a member of the congregation of Mr. Edmund Calamy, an eminent Diſſenting miniſter, was among the moſt noted of their admirers and followers.

The three Camiſards were clearly proved to be impoſtors. One of them went by the name of *Cavalier*, pretending to be a relation of the writer of the hiſtory quoted above, who was then colonel of a regiment in Holland, and to have been acknowledged as a prophet in the Cevennes. But the colonel being applied to declared that he was no relation of his, and that he had never heard of his being conſidered as a prophet. This man appeared

peared afterwards to be of an infamous character. He turned papiſt, and enliſted in the French king's guards. The ſecond, of the name of *Marion*, was equally unknown to the colonel in the character of a prophet; and the third called *Durand Fage*, he ſaid was a vagabond and a poltroon.

Having peruſed ſeveral of the tracts written by Mr. Lacy, I am willing to conſider him as more of an enthuſiaſt than an impoſtor, tho' it is barely poſſible to believe what he aſſerts concerning himſelf, allowing as much as we can to the force of imagination. With reſpect to the convulſive motions with which he, like the reſt, was agitated, he ſays in his *Relation of the dealings of God with him*, p. 10, "When my arm, head, or leg is ſhaken, I "muſt be allowed to know whether it be voluntary "from myſelf, or not; and I do affirm it is not "from myſelf, nor at my own will and pleaſure; "but, on the contrary, when that agent does ſo, and "I think to ſuppreſs the ſame, he does continue "ſo to ſtart and twitch my limbs, and by more in-"terior uneaſineſs over my whole body to ſolicit "my obedience, that I can have no reſt till I ſuffer "the ſame to take place. Under his influence I "have ſometimes experienced a voice ſo ſtrong "and clear, ſometimes ſo harmonious, as my natu-"ral one never did or could furniſh. Under the "ſame I have been carried on my knees ſeveral

" times round a room ſwifter than I could have " gone on my feet. Some other particularities " many have alſo been witneſſes of; but theſe may " ſuffice to ſhew that I am at times under the agen- " cy of another diſtinct being; at which time the " tongue alſo is at the direction of that foreign a- " gent, and no more under mine than the motion " of the other parts of my body."

Mr. Calamy, however, in his treatiſe intitled a *Caveat*, ſhewed that ſeveral of the predictions of theſe prophets when they were in the Cevennes notoriouſly failed in their fulfillment, and he alleged many other reaſons for their being either enthuſiaſts or impoſtors, and that the latter was the more probable of the two.

At length it was given-out by theſe prophets that God would atteſt their inſpiration by an evident miracle, viz. the reſurrection of a Dr. Ems from the dead on the 25th of May, which was five months after his death. " If this be performed," ſays Mr. Lacy, in the tract above quoted p. 29, and written before that day, " by the power of him " who is the reſurrection and the life, none that " believe Moſes and the prophets will doubt that " the fulfilling of the glorious things written of " him by them is at the door, according to the te- " nor of this prophetic voice of late ſounding."

For

For the principal of theſe predictions was the overthrow of the perſecuting papal powers, and the deliverance and flouriſhing ſtate of the Proteſtants.

When the 25th of May arrived, great numbers went to the place where Dr. Ems had been buried, with the confident expectation of being witneſſes of his reſurrection. But notwithſtanding their devotions at the time, to their great diſappointment he did not riſe. On this the general credit of theſe prophets vaniſhed; and tho' ſome endeavoured to account for the failure of this particular prediction, without the impeachment of their pretenſions in other reſpects, of whom Mr. Lacy was one, as appears by his *Letter to Dr. Woodward*, the deluſion did not continue much longer, and no pretenſions of the kind were any more heard of.

That there were impoſitions contrived by ſome of the leaders of the Camiſards while they were in the Cévennes appeared by the teſtimony of credible witneſſes. A perſon of the name of Clary among them was ſaid to ſtand and dance in the flames unhurt. This was publiſhed by Mr. Lacy as a miracle from the depoſition of the pretended prophet Cavalier above mentioned, and Mr. Chubb laid great ſtreſs upon it, as a relation, as well atteſted as the miracles record-

ed in the ſcriptures. But Mr. Le Moine, who anſwered him, found by diligent enquiry, and eſpecially the teſtimony of Mr. Serres, who had been one of the privy council of the Camiſards, that this was a trick contrived by themſelves to encourage their troops; this Clary being placed behind the fire, but appearing to thoſe who ſtood at a diſtance to be in it. This was declared by Mr. Serres when he was near his death. See my *Inſtitutes of Natural and Revealed Religion*, Vol 2, p. 14.

SECTION

SECTION II.

Of the Sufferings of Mr. Marolles, Le Fevre, and P. Mauru.

A MORE diſtinct idea may be formed of the ſeverity and extent of the perſecution that followed the revocation of the edict of Nantes, from the ſufferings of a few individuals, of which we have particular and authentic accounts; and for this purpoſe I have ſelected thoſe of Mr. Marolles, Le Fevre, and P. Mauru, of which I formerly publiſhed a larger account tranſlated from the French. From this it will clearly appear, that this papal perſecution exceeded that of any of the heathens in cruelty and duration, tho' not in extent, becauſe it was confined to the kingdom of France. But all the perſecutions of the Proteſtants by the Catholics far exceeded all thoſe of the heathens even in this reſpect.

Lewis de Marolles was born about the year A. D. 1629, of an antient family in Champagne,

and lived at Minehoult, where he held the office of king's councellor, and the receiver of conſignments; his religion incapacitating him for any other office. He particularly excelled in the knowledge of Mathematics and the philoſophy of the times, which was that of Gaſſendi and Deſcartes.

On the revocation of the edict of Nantes he was arreſted on his way to Straſburgh, by which road he was endeavouring to leave the kingdom; and tho' it is probable that he might have been ſuffered to proceed, if he had concealed his deſign; yet he frankly avowed it, thinking it baſe to uſe any diſſimulation.

On the 17th of January A. D. 1686, he was removed from Straſburgh to Chalons, accompanied by his family, and there he was detained ſix weeks, in the firſt four of which he had ſome liberty, the clergy endeavouring to convince him of his errors; but this meaſure not ſucceeding, he was put into a dungeon, where he was not permitted to ſee any perſon for a fortnight. After this he was brought out to receive his ſentence, which was to be ſent to the gallies for his life, and all his goods to be forfeited to the king.

This was on a Saturday, and on the Monday following he was conveyed in a waggon to Paris, attended by three archers. There he was put into the

the priſon called the Conciergeré on the 14th of March; and there his youngeſt ſon, who had accompanied him to Paris, was told that he muſt ſee his father no more. Accordingly he was then put into a dark dungeon, and no perſon whatever was allowed to have any acceſs to him. On the 11th of May he was brought before his judges, and on the 14th, the ſentence paſſed at Chalons was confirmed, when irons were put upon his hands, and he was conveyed to another priſon called la Tournelle, where thoſe who were to be ſent to the gallies were confined till the departure of what was called *a chain*, from a number of them being chained together on the road. Here he ſays, he was ſhut up in company with ſeven miſerable wretches, either condemned to the gallies, to be hanged, or broken on the wheel, and the place was ſo dark that he could not well diſcern their faces. They were all troubled with rheums or fluxes from the unwholeſomeneſs of the place; and there, he ſays, he expected to rot; but contrary to his expectation he did not ſuffer in his health.

Having ſome ſpare moments in this ſituation, he wrote to his family to comfort them, expreſſing the perfect tranquility of his mind, in conſequence of putting his truſt in God, and eſteeming himſelf happy in ſuffering in ſo good a cauſe. In a letter from this place of the date of May 6th, he

ſays,

ſays, "I was put into a dark dungeon, where I "have been as it were buried alive theſe ſix months, "after being twice brought before the procurator "general, who, after examining me, ſaid, it was "wonderful to ſee men do more for error, than "perhaps any of themſelves would do for the "truth."

From another letter of the 2d of July, it appears that the tears of his wife and family, which had not moved him at Straſburgh, induced him now to accept of a propoſal to have his liberty, on condition that, with a view to his converſion as it was called, he would receive inſtruction from the biſhop of Meaux, with whom he might continue ſix, eight, or ten months; but he ſoon repented of this conceſſion, and of courſe was remanded to priſon, where the chain was taken from his feet, and another, which he believed did not weigh leſs than thirty pounds, was put about his neck. In this ſituation it was that he had the two viſits from the procurator general, and other perſons of conſequence, who expreſſed much kindneſs for him, but found him inflexible on the ſubject of religion.

While he was in this priſon, his wife viſited him as often as ſhe could, tho' ſhe could only ſee him through a grate, and waſh the wounds which the chain had made on his neck; and this ſhe did with water in which muſket balls had been ſteeped.

ed. Here it was ſaid that he had loſt his reaſon, but to convince his enemies that this report was without foundation, he propoſed a mathematical problem to be ſolved by thoſe who were ſkilled in that branch of ſcience. The celebrated mathematician De Moivre was acquainted with Mr. Marolles in this confinement, and gave a particular account of this problem.

On Saturday July 20th, the chain departed from Paris, when Mr. Marolles was ill of a fever. They had but a little way to go from the priſon to the boat in which they were to be conveyed from Paris, and in this ſpace they went in pairs, carrying a long chain, which went through each particular chain. In this paſſage he was met by his children, who threw themſelves on his neck, and kiſſed him. His wife had not been able to bear ſo great a trial. As the caſe of Mr. Marolles had been the ſubject of much converſation in Paris, he was attended by a great concourſe of people, who appeared to be much affected on ſeeing ſo reſpectable a perſon in that ſituation; and an old merchant, tho' then a Catholic, breaking through the croud, encouraged him, and offered him his purſe. This merchant ſome time after became a Proteſtant, and took refuge in London.

From Dijon, through which the chain paſſed, Mr. Marolles wrote to a friend in Paris, dated Ju-

ly 30th, when he acknowledged that the treatment he had met with had been very prejudicial to his health, tho' he had concealed it from his family and other friends, that he might not give them too much pain, that he had not got quit of his fever, tho' he was not in danger from it, and expreſſed his hope that before his arrival at Marſeilles, which was to be the termination of this march, he ſhould be perfectly recovered.

Being arrived at Marſeilles he wrote on the 25th of Auguſt a letter from which it appears that his fever had not then left him. He had, he ſaid, undergone incredible fatigue, and had been twice at the point of death; and that in that condition he had lain upon planks, without any ſtraw under him, and his hat for a pillow. When the chain left the water, he ſaid their condition was much worſe than it had been, being jumbled fourteen hours a day in a waggon, and lodged in dungeons. Without any attention being paid to his condition, tho' he was evidently ſick, he was immediately on his arrival at Marſeilles ſent to a galley, conducted by two archers, who were obliged to ſupport him all the way; and he was chained as other galley ſlaves were. Some of the officers, however, ſeeing him in this condition got him ſent to the hoſpital, where he recovered his health and ſtrength. In

the

the mean time his family appears to have made their eſcape out of the kingdom.

In this hoſpital he was about three weeks, and fortunately in company with Mr. Le Fevre, of whom an account will next be given, their beds being contiguous, which was a great conſolation to them both. Writing from this place to his wife, he ſays ſhe had nothing to do but, to thank God, and to be cheerful. Tho' about this time many pardons arrived from the court for galley ſlaves, none could be obtained for him, notwithſtanding much interceſſion had been made for him, and his condemnation, the writer ſays, troubled his judges and all honeſt men.

After this he was removed to the galley, but a different one from that to which his companion was ſent. Writing to his wife on the 23d of September, he, with much pleaſantry, gives a deſcription of his galley ſlave dreſs, and the circumſtances of his treatment, of which he made no complaint. "Let this," he ſays, "comfort and rejoice thee. "I am already uſed to the place where I am, as "if I had been here all my life. I am better here "than in the hoſpital." This was on account of the better air that he had on board the galley. Speaking of his chains, he ſays that the iron which he then wore on his foot, tho' it did not weigh three

pounds,

pounds, had given him more pain at firſt, than that which he had worn on his neck; but that he had learned every day to place it ſo as to be leſs inconvenient to him.

By a letter to his wife, dated the 14th of October, it appears that his treatment was then much harſher than it had been. Before this he had been permitted to ſleep in a bed, but now he ſaid he was not looſed from his chain all the night, that he never had the liberty to go on ſhore, and that he was not allowed to receive any letters, or to write any but ſuch as were inſpected.

Being told, after changing his galley ſeveral times, that he was to be put into one that was going to America, he ſays to his wife, "Let not this "afflict thee. Let us reſign ourſelves to the pro- "vidence of God, who does every thing with infi- "nite wiſdom, and for the beſt ends to his chil- "dren. We are not able to make a proper choice, "becauſe we do not know what is beſt for us. Let "us not oppoſe his will by impatience or fruitleſs "tears. To comfort her he ſays, that he had then the uſe of a little cabin, which had been procured for him by a young officer to whom he taught Algebra.

In the month of December he had ſeveral conferences with the clergy at the biſhop of Marſeilles, but they only ſerved to make his condition worſe,

as

as the ſame had done to Mr. Le Fevre, who had been brought thither before him. After an interval, in which he appears to have been treated with a conſiderable degree of civility, he was remanded to the galley, where he was kept ſix weeks. But after this he was removed to a kind of dungeon prepared for him in the citadel, which was probably done in conſequence of an expreſs order from the court, with a view to triumph over his patience. In this place the writer ſays he was kept ſix years in nakedneſs, hunger, cold, and darkneſs.

Till ſeveral months after his confinement, he had no opportunity of writing to any perſon. Then, in a letter to his wife dated the 25th of October, he tells her that on the 12th of February he was taken out of the galley, and ſhut into a ſmall room, which had ſerved for a ſoldier's lodge, twelve of his feet one way, and ten the other, but ſo altered, that the greateſt part of the light came into it from the chimney; that he was allowed five ſols a day, that one centinel was placed day and night at his door, and another at the top of the chimney; but that he bore all with patience and reſignation.

For ſome time he was much pleaſed with this change in his ſituation, as his ears, he ſays, were no longer offended with the horrid and blaſphemous ſounds which he had continually heard on

board the galley, that he was then at liberty to ſing praiſes to God, and proſtrate himſelf before him, whenever he pleaſed. He was alſo relieved from his troubleſome chains. The ſolitude, however, and the darkneſs diſtreſſed him greatly, and for ſome time diſturbed his imagination ſo much, that he feared it would end in diſtraction; but he was relieved, he ſays, by prayer.

The writer of this account could not find the trace of letters written by Mr. Marolles for the three years following; but from thoſe which were written to his wife in the years A. D. 1691 and 1692, it appears that notwithſtanding his continuance in theſe moſt uncomfortable circumſtances, his faith and hope did not fail. He ſays that what afflicted him the moſt was the exceſs of her anxiety about him. But even, this, he ſays, he would bear like a chriſtian. He acknowleges that after he had been in this confinement three weeks, he thought he could not live many months; but ſays he, the next February God had preſerved him there five years; that on the 15th of October in the firſt year he had had a painful defluxion, which ſettled on the elbow and ſhoulder of his right arm, ſo that he could not undreſs himſelf to go to bed; and this diſorder continued almoſt a year.

Four winters he ſpent in this place almoſt without any fire. The firſt none was allowed him. In the

the ſecond they gave him ſome on the 28th of January, but took it away before the end of February. The third they gave him ſome for about a fortnight. This winter, he ſays, they had not given him any, and he ſhould not aſk for it. Tho' the mayor had money of his, he would not allow him the uſe of any of it. Tho', however he ſays he experienced cold, nakedneſs, and hunger, his ſituation was at that time better.

He had been fed by different perſons at different times, and one of them cut off three ſols of the five that had been allowed him for his maintenance, and for this he ſaid he had no remedy. At one time he had no bread for three days. He was at one time almoſt a year without a ſhirt, and his clothes more ragged, he ſaid, than thoſe of any beggar. He had no ſtockings to his feet, and his ſhoes were unſewed on both ſides. An intendant, ſeeing him in this condition, expreſſed ſome pity for him, but left him in it ten months. At length, however, a galley ſlaves dreſs was procured for him, tho' out of his own money.

For the laſt year and an half he ſaid he had been allowed a lamp full of oil, which gave him light ſix, ſeven, or eight hours, by which he could read the ſcriptures more than before. Before this he had only had a ſmall candle for a liard a day. At one time he ſaid he was troubled with a diſor-

der which took away his breath, and that he had a giddineſs in which he fell down, and broke his head. This he aſcribed to a want of food. But now, he ſays, I am in perfect health, and for two or three months have been allowed regularly three loaves and often ſoup.

It appears by a letter of Mr. Marolles to a brother ſufferer in A. D. 1692, that at this time his ſituation was worſe than it had been before. For after acquainting him with the ſtate of his mind, which was reſigned and unbroken, he deſires him to procure for him, if he could, ſome thread to mend his linen and clothes. For ſix weeks he ſaid he had applied for ſome, but had not been able to procure it, and that for the three laſt months he could not get his linen waſhed.

From this he muſt have been guarded with more than uſual ſtrictneſs, as no letters appear to have came from him; and by his extreme weakneſs he was incapacitated for reading or writing, a month or two before his death, which happened the 17th of June A. D. 1692; when he was buried by the Turkiſh priſoners in a place appropriated to the burial of infidels.

During all this long confinement which muſt be allowed to have been a more grievous puniſhment than death in any form, all the letters that he had an opportunity of writing (which, indeed,

ſo

ſo cloſely was he watched, do not appear to have been many) breath a truly chriſtian ſpirit; expreſſing the greateſt patience, reſignation, and even joy and gratitude with reſpect to God, and without any ill will to his perſecutors; and feeling more for others, eſpecially his wife and family, than he did for himſelf. *Surely, there is a reward for the righteous, ſince there is a righteous God that judges in the earth.* At length this illuſtrious confeſſor and martyr found reſt from all his ſufferings; and at laſt, being welcomed with "*Well done good and faithful* "*ſervant*, will *enter into the joy of his Lord.*"

Iſaac Le Fevre, whoſe ſufferings procured him as much renown through France, and all Proteſtant countries, as Mr. Marolles, was born at Chatel Chinon in Nivernois, of one of the moſt reſpectable families in that diſtrict. By profeſſion he was an advocate, or counſellor at law. In A. D. 1663, he was ſent to Geneva, where he went through a courſe of philoſophy, and then he ſtudied the law Orleans, where he maintained a theſis, and took his degrees. He then went to Paris, and ſhewing his teſtimonials to Mr. Talon, at that time advocate general, he was admitted one of the advocates of the court of Parliament.

After continuing ſome time at Paris he returned to Provence, where he was employed by the marchioneſs of St. Andrew Mombrun, and took a

journey to Poitou and Xantoigne to ſettle ſome affairs of hers, which he did to her ſatisfaction. There he was queſtioned about his religion by the intendant of Rochfort. Being, however, diſmiſſed, he went to Paris at the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantes; and on this he went to Burgundy to give the marchioneſs an account of the buſineſs he had tranſacted for her, and then intended to ſeek an aſſylum in Switzerland; but on the 14th of February A. D. 1686, he was apprehended near the town of Portali, together with a Swiſs whoſe name was La Tour.

From this place he was ſent to Beſancon, where he was inſulted, and robbed of every thing that he had, eſpecially of a watch worth twenty five louis d'ors; and his horſe was given to the archer who took him. On the 12th of April he was put into irons, and after three weeks brought to trial, when ſentence was pronounced againſt him. The day following he was put into a dungeon with fetters on his feet night and day; and thus he was kept two months and ſome days. A counſellor ſeeing him carry his chains awkwardly, ſaid to him by way of inſult, that a perſon who was ſatisfied that he was in the true religion would ſuffer even unto death. This, he ſaid, made an impreſſion on him. He replied that what he ſaid was true,

and

and that he was in the way to it. At this time he was thirty ſeven years of age.

In a letter written by him the 12th of May, he ſaid, that nothing could be worſe then the treatment he met with at this place, that the more they ſaw him affected by it, the worſe they uſed him; and if there was any part of the priſon more offenſive than an other, they put him into it. But tho' in theſe circumſtances, he was repeatedly offered his liberty if he would recant, he reſolutely refuſed. He ſaid, he would end his days in torment rather than renounce a religion which would make him happy in the greateſt misfortunes, which could make him deſpiſe ſhame, and put it into his heart to pray for his enemies and perſecutors. He ſaid, he felt compaſſion for them, and believed that they thought they did God ſervice, tho' they were fighting againſt God and his truth.

At this time the ſuperior of the Jeſuits at Beſancon was ſent by the intendant to inform him, that he would be ſent away the Monday following faſtened to the chain. Then alſo he heard that his ſiſter, who perſevered as he did, notwithſtanding all the perſecution to which ſhe had been expoſed, was ſent to a convent at Moulins, which increaſed his affliction, but alſo, the writer ſays, his zeal and fervour; and tho' he was ſtill ſolicited by his judg-

es and other catholics to recant, he was nothing moved by any thing that they could urge.

From Beſancon he was removed to Dijon, where he arrived the 30th of May; but the hardſhips of the conveyance, and his irons, bruiſed him much; and had they not been taken off at Auſonne, where he had a horſe allowed him, he ſaid he ſhould not have been brought alive to Dijon, his ſituation in the waggon was ſo painful. At this place he met with better treatment, and recovered his ſtrength; and after continuing two months in the priſon of this city, he was conducted with his companions to Chalons on the Soane, where the chain arrived that came from Paris; and to this chain Mr. Marolles was then faſtened. They were bound and ſlept together; and for him, as he was ſick, he expreſſed more concern than for himſelf.

When he was arrived at Marſeilles, he wrote that he had ſuffered ſo much on his journey, that the guard, thinking that he was dead, ſome took one thing from him, and ſome another; and that had they not made a little ſtop at Avignon, and he been permitted to take a litter, for which he paid with his own money, he could not have ſurvived it. After his arrival he was forty eight hours without being able to eat or drink any thing that was given to him, and without getting any ſleep.

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He was then ſent to the hoſpital as mentioned before, together with Mr. Marolles, which the writer ſays was like being in paradiſe.

Before Mr. Le Fevre was perfectly recovered, and even while he was not able to ſtand, he was put on board the galley. An officer ſeeing him in this ſituation ſaid that had he been ſent to the gallies for any crime, he might have expected the kindeſt treatment. Theſe, he ſaid, are hard extremes; but in all events I ſhall truſt in God, and praiſe him as long as I live.

Like Mr. Marolles, he was removed from one galley to another, and met with very different treatment in them; but at length the liberty of ſeeing his friends was taken from him, no letter addreſſed to him could be received by him, nor could he write to any perſon. He could not even converſe with thoſe who were chained with him, and was always kept to the chain, which was an uncommonly ſhort one. After this harſh treatment, intended, no doubt, to ſubdue his fortitude, he was taken to the biſhop of Marſeilles, who ſaid every thing that he could to induce him to recant, but it was without effect.

He was kept on board of the galley till April A. D. 1687, when he was removed to a dungeon ſimilar to that of Mr. Marolles in the fort of St. John in Marſeilles, where he was confined till his

death in A. D. 1702, which was in all ſixteen years, and ten years after the death of Mr. Marolles. His priſon was a vault of an irregular form, that had been a ſtable, but found to be too damp for the horſes. There ſtill was a rack and a manger in it. No light came into it but by the door, the upper part of which was broken, and grated within and without; ſo that the place was dark as well as damp, and had an offenſive ſmell. Every thing rotted in it, and he never ſaw any fire but that of a candle.

When he entered this place he was ſearched and the only book that he had left was taken from him. At firſt he lay two or three nights in a damp manger, and more than a month on a ſhort and narrow cheſt, with no other covering than the king's allowance of a garment. Sometimes he could not ſleep for cold.

This hard treatment brought on ſeveral diſorders, at firſt a rheumatiſm, and then a continual fever. No perſon was permitted to come near him, much leſs to ſpeak to him; and the food they gave him he ſaid was full of impurities; and beſides the badneſs of his food, he was often without linen or clothes. He ſhould, he ſaid, have been entirely without any ſhirt, if, by ſome means which he could not account for, two had not been ſent to him. At the ſame time he received a bolſter and

ſome

ſome other things, on which he fell on his knees, and thanked God for ſuch unexpected favours. Even in theſe circumſtances he ſaid that God comforted and ſupported him in a ſenſible manner, and gave him ſtrength to bear his afflictions with patience and joy; and that if he ſhould ſay that he was ſometimes ſo contented and happy, that he forgot that he had any cauſe of ſorrow, he ſhould not exceed the truth.

In this dungeon he was ſo cloſely guarded, that no news could be had of him but very rarely, and that with much trouble and expence; ſo that he ſometimes kept his letters a whole year before he could find an opportunity of ſending them. At this time, however, he compoſed a large treatiſe on *the neceſsity of ſuffering*. He alſo made a tranſlation of the Pſalms, and turned Kempis's book on *the imitation of Chriſt* into verſe. From this it appears that he was allowed to have pen, ink, and paper. But two years and ſome months before the end of the year A. D. 1698, the perſon that had ſerved him for a meſſenger was impriſoned, all his writings and books were taken from him, and he kept nothing beſides the tranſlation of the pſalms printed at Neufchatel, and ſometime after a ſoldier who had done him ſome little ſervice, was condemned to be hanged.

Some

Some days after he had been in this ſolitude a miſſionary and another clergyman would enter into controverſy with him, but they made no impreſſion on him.

The firmneſs with which this extraordinary man bore his unexampled ſufferings is barely credible. In a letter to a lady in A. D. 1695, he ſays, "I enter the tenth year of my ſufferings, but by "the grace of God I have loſt neither courage, nor "patience, nor faith, nor wholly my health."

No letter of his can be traced beyond the year A. D. 1699, when he was ſo cloſely confined that he ſaw no perſon beſides the man that brought his victuals, and he was forbidden to tell him any thing that paſſed in the world. He was particularly anxious to know whether at the peace (viz. at Ryſwick) any thing had been ſtipulated in favour of the Proteſtants. But nothing was done for them. On the contrary, the applications and remonſtrances of the Proteſtant powers in their favour, made Lewis and his court more inveterate againſt them; as it was ſaid to be a proof of their having correſpondence with foreign ſtates, and that it was impertinent in thoſe ſtates to intermeddle in the affairs of France. This was in the height of Lewis's proſperity. Not long after this he experienced a reverſe of fortune, but ſtill there was

no relenting with reſpect to his Proteſtant ſubjects. Neither Le Fevre, nor any of his brethren in ſimilar circumſtances were relieved. Their ſufferings were rather aggravated till his death, which as mentioned before, happened in June A. D. 1702, when he was fifty two years of age. Of the laſt ſcenes of his life, and the circumſtances of his death, there is no knowledge.

I am tempted to extend this article, in order to give an account of the ſufferings of *Peter Mauru*, which in ſome reſpects exceeded thoſe of Mr. Marolles or Le Fevre.

He was a native of Loiſi in Brie, and of a pretty good family. In his attempt to get out of France he was ſtopped in Burgundy, and was impriſoned at Beſancon together with Mr. Le Fevre, and about the ſame time ſentenced to the galleys for life. Before he arrived at the ſea port he was coupled with Philip Le Boucher, another confeſſor; and becauſe this poor man was not able to carry his chain, Mr. Mauru who, was next to him, bore it up at firſt with his hands, and afterwards with a forked ſtick, in ſuch a manner that he was entirely relieved, and this was in the heat of the dog days.

In the galley his ſufferings almoſt exceed belief, and ſeven or eight times he ſeemed to be at the point of death, and yet ſhewed a noble example of

piety

piety, humility, and conſtancy. In a letter to Mr. Le Fevre, who requeſted to be informed of the particulars of the baſtinados to which he had been ſubjected, he ſaid he could not recollect all of them, that he had ſometimes forty blows at a time, and never leſs than twenty, and this ſometimes for eight or ten days ſucceſſively.

When the captain of the galley knew why he was ſent thither, he had him ſearched, and all books and papers taken from him; and at length he was fixed in a place where a ſpy was ſet over him, and he was continually tormented with needleſs labour. No perſon was permitted to ſpeak to him beſides a prieſt who endeavoured to convert him. An inferior officer requeſting to have the management of him, ſaying he could do more with him than the miſſionaries, he was put into his hands, and only not allowed to take his life; and he every day contrived ſome new mode of tormenting and mortifying him. Among other things the moſt wicked of the Turkiſh ſlaves and Moors were placed about him, and encouraged in inſulting and abuſing him. But he ſaid that tho' in his body he ſuffered all day long, his heart rejoiced in his ſaviour day and night.

At the end of a painful voyage he had an illneſs which continued a month, when he was taken

to

to the hoſpital, and his life was a long time deſpaired of. After bearing this hard treatment ten years, his conſtitution was entirely broken, and he had a continual cough which hardly allowed him to ſpeak. In this languiſhing condition he continued from A. D. 1695 to 1696, and ſoon after this he died. Some perſon having got a coffin made for him, the almoner cauſed it to be unnailed, and had the body taken out, and buried without one. Mr. Le Fevre, who outlived him, ſaid he preſerved his ſenſes ſound to the laſt, and his faith and conſtancy were ſtronger than ever.

For an account of other diſtinguiſhed confeſſors and martyrs on this trying occaſion, and their extraordinary ſufferings in various ways, I refer to that publication of mine from which the above is extracted. That human beings ſhould be able to endure all that they did, and with perfect patience and reſignation, and without any thing of the ſpirit of revenge, is truly wonderful. It ſhews what chriſtian principles can do; and certainly no other could produce this effect. A man with other principles may be ſullen and obſtinate, and by the help of a good conſtitution bear what they did, but not with their humility, patience, and univerſal benevolence, bearing no ill-will even to the authors of their unmerited ſufferings, but praying for them.

Before

Before I entirely cloſe this article, I muſt take notice of two circumſtances of peculiar hardſhip and injuſtice in the caſe of the French confeſſors and martyrs. They were generally ſentenced to the gallies for life, but tho' ſome of them were ſentenced to that puniſhment for a limited time, as ten years, yet no attention was paid to their application for releaſe when the time was expired; ſo that they continued in that ſituation without any hope of deliverance except by death:

Tho' the laws of France, like thoſe of other countries, allow of no more than one puniſhment for one offence, thoſe Proteſtants in the galleys were ſubjected to the baſtinado, and often in a peculiarly cruel manner, if they did not bow at the elevation of the hoſt; and they were compelled to attend the recitation of the maſs together with the other ſlaves. The following account of one of thoſe baſtinados is given by a catholic clergyman who afterwards became a Proteſtant.

"In the year A. D. 1703, ſeveral Proteſtants "ont of Languedoc and the Cevennes were put on "board our galley. They were narrowly watch-"ed, and I was ſuprized one Sunday morning af-"ter ſaying maſs on the *becasse* (a table ſo placed "that all on board the galley may ſee the prieſt "when he elevates the hoſt) to hear the comite

ſay

" ſay he was going to give the huguenots the baſti-
" nado, becauſe they did not kneel, nor ſhew any
" reſpect to the myſteries of the maſs, and that he
" was going to acquaint the captain with it. The
" very name of baſtinado terrified me; and tho' I
" had never ſeen this dreadful execution, I begged
" the comite to forbear till the next Sunday, and
" that in the mean time I would endeavour to con-
" vince them of what I then thought their duty
" and my own.

" Accordingly I uſed all the means I could
" think of to that end, ſometimes making uſe of
" fair means, giving them victuals, and doing them
" other good offices, ſometimes uſing threats, and
" repreſenting the torments that were deſigned for
" them, often urging the king's command, and
" quoting St. Paul, who ſays, he who reſiſts the
" higher power, reſiſts God. I could not but ad-
" mire both the modeſty of their anſwers, and the
" greatneſs of their courage. The king, they ſaid,
" is the maſter of our bodies, but not of our con-
" ſciences. At laſt the dreadful day being come,
" the comite narrowly obſerved them to ſee the
" fruit of my labours, when only two out of twen-
" ty bowed their knee to Baal. The reſt gene-
" rouſly refuſed it, and were, in conſequence, by
" the captain's orders, treated in the following man-
" ner.

" Previous to the execution every man's chains " were taken off, and they were delivered to four " Turks, who ſtripped them ſtark naked, and " ſtretching them upon a great gun, they are ſo " held that they cannot ſo much as ſtir, during " which time there is a profound ſilence through " the whole galley; and it is ſo cruel a ſcene that " the moſt obdurate wretches cannot bear the ſight, " but are forced to turn away their eyes. The " victim being thus prepared, the Turk pitched up- " on to be the executioner, with a tough cudgel, or " knotted ropes end, beats the poor wretch moſt " unmercifully; and the more ſo as he thinks it " acceptable to Mahomet."

" But the moſt barbarous of all is that, after " the ſkin is flead off the bones, all that they ap- " ply to the wounds is a mixture of ſalt and vine- " gar, after which they are thrown into the hoſpi- " tal. I went thither after the execution, and could " not refrain from tears at the ſight of ſo much bar- " barity. They quickly perceived it, and tho' " ſcarce able to ſpeak through pain and weakneſs, " they thanked me for the compaſſion that I ex- " preſſed, and the kindneſs I had always ſhewn " them. I went with a deſign to adminiſter ſome " comfort, but I was glad to find them leſs moved " than I was myſelf. It was wonderful to ſee with " what true chriſtian patience and conſtancy they bore " their

" their torments, in the extremity of their pain,
" never expreſſing any thing like rage, but calling
" upon almighty God, and imploring his aſſiſtance.
" I viſited them day by day, and as often as I did
" my conſcience upbraided me for perſiſting ſo
" long in a religion the capital errors of which I long
" before perceived, and above all that inſpired ſo
" much cruelty, a temper directly oppoſite to the
" ſpirit of chriſtianity. At laſt their wounds, like
" ſo many mouths, preaching to me, made me ſen-
" ſible of my error, and experimentally taught me
" the excellence of the Proteſtant religion."

The author of the work from which I quote this ſays, p. 200, that the baſtinado ceaſed in A. D. 1701; but the preceding account, if the date may be depended upon, contradicts this aſſertion. The reaſon that is given for its diſcontinuance is, that all the princes and ſtates of Europe expreſſed their abhorrence of it, and could not forbear to reproach the French ambaſſadors and others, with the infamy of it.

SECTION III.

Articles relating to the Catholics in general.

IN this period we find the learning and virtue of ſeveral of the popes conſiderably ſuperior to that of many of their predeceſſors, owing in ſome meaſure, no doubt, to the influence of the reformation, after which ſuch odious characters as thoſe of ſome former popes could not have been endured. The moſt diſtinguiſhed of the ſovereign pontiffs that are now before us are Clement XI, Innocent XIII, Benedict XIII, Clement XII, and Benedict XIV, and eſpecially the firſt and the laſt of theſe. In A. D. 1725, this Benedict formed a council in the palace of the Lateran, for the purpoſe of reforming the church; but the event did not anſwer his expectations. *Moſheim*, Vol. 5, p. 75. But the influence of the popes in the politics of Europe, which uſed to be predominant, was reduced to nothing, a diſtinction being always made

made by thoſe princes whoſe intereſt it was to make it between their temporal and their ſpiritual power.

The endeavours of the Catholics to propagate their religion both in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, were continued with unabated zeal in the beginning of this period, eſpecially when they were directed by Anthony Veri. There was no want either of miſſionaries or of funds for their ſupport; but the effects of their labour and expence were not very conſpicuous, and have now nearly diſappeared. The candid Catholics themſelves acknowledge that the chriſtianity which their miſſionaries did propagate had little in it of the genuine ſpirit of the goſpel.

The diſputes between the Jeſuits and their adverſaries relating to the religious ceremonies of the Chineſe was particularly warm when, in A. D. 1704, Clement XI decided againſt the opinion of the Jeſuits, forbidding the Chineſe chriſtians the practice of the idolatrous rites of their anceſtors. This decree was carried to China by the cardinal Tournon, who by his imprudent conduct gave ſo much offence that he was thrown into priſon and died there. It being thought neceſſary to give ſome ſatisfaction to the Jeſuits, rather than loſe all the fruits of the miſſion, in A. D. 1715, the former decree was mitigated, and leave was given with

ſome modifications to do what they had permitted. This decree was carried to China by Mezzabarba, but he could not prevail on the emperor to make the leaſt change in the inſtitutions of his anceſtors. *Moſheim*, Vol. 5, p. 70.

I ſhall obſerve in this place that Frederic IV, king of Denmark in A. D. 1706, ſent miſſionaries for the converſion of the Indians on the coaſt of Malabar; and this eſtabliſhment was much encouraged by Chriſtian VI, and has been attended with much ſucceſs. Tho' fewer converts were made by the Lutheran miſſionaries, they were, no doubt, better chriſtians, than thoſe that were made by the Catholics. The Ruſſians too, tho' with what ſucceſs is not known, have not been wanting in their endeavours to plant their religion in Siberia. *Ib.* Vol. 5, p. 72.

The controverſies within the pale of the Catholic church roſe higher in this period than at the cloſe of the laſt, tho' the low ſtate to which the whole ſyſtem has gradually ſunk, has abated the virulence of all the parties. The diſputes relating to Janſeniſm are thoſe to which I particularly allude. In them the Janſeniſts had the advantage in the piety and general popularity of their leaders, while their opponents, who were principally the Jeſuits, were aided by worldly power and policy.

This

This controverſy was much inflamed by a meaſure which was intended to allay it, viz. the publication of the bull *Unigenitus* by Clement XI in A. D. 1713. This bull contained a condemnation of Quenell's tranſlation of the New Teſtament, publiſhed in the preceding period, in which the doctrines of the Janſeniſts were inſinuated in a manner peculiarly pleaſing to perſons of a pious diſpoſition. It alarmed the Jeſuits ſo much, that, at their inſtigation, Lewis XIV procured the bull above mentioned, in which this New Teſtament and one hundred and one propoſitions contained in it were cenſured as heretical. This bull likewiſe confirmed the Proteſtants in their averſion to the Catholic religion in general, as it convinced them that all attempts to abate the ſuperſtitions and corruptions of that church would be ineffectual.

The greateſt diſturbance that was occaſioned by this bull was in France, where it was oppoſed by the cardinal de Noailles archbiſhop of Paris, notwithſtanding the reſentment of the king, and a perſecution which drove many to take refuge in the Netherlands and Holland, where the Catholics were almoſt univerſally Janſeniſts. And tho' by the influence of the Jeſuits, and the orders of the court, the bull was regiſtered in the parliament, and thereby obtained the force of a law, a great number of thoſe who were zealous for the liberties

of the Gallican church appealed from it to a general council, and thence obtained the name of *Appellants*.

But much of the credit which the Janſeniſts gained by their ingenious writings, and their real piety, they loſt by their ſuperſtition, relying upon miracles and prophecies which were eaſily expoſed. The cures of diſeaſes at the tomb of the abbé Paris, who, like many other Janſeniſts, died a martyr to his voluntary mortifications, were the moſt remarkable of thoſe that fell within this period; and that there was nothing miraculous in them has been abundantly proved. In this period, however, the Janſeniſts have had an abundant cauſe of triumph in the total extinction of the order of Jeſuits, tho' it does not appear that by this, or any other circumſtance, they have gained any advantage with reſpect to the ſpread of their tenets.

In this period we have to contemplate the enormous power of the popes, even in ſpirituals, but much more in temporals, in a ſtate of great depreſſion, not even holding the language they did in the laſt period; and what is moſt remarkable in it is the total defection of that ſtate from which they originally derived their temporalities, and the rank they held among the potentates of Europe, and which in the very laſt period had been moſt devoted to them; and the total ſuppreſſion of that order of

of men, the Jeſuits, which had been, as it were, their right hand, having done more to ſupport their pretenſions than any other. But France was not the only power of which the pope had cauſe to complain, and other orders beſides that of the Jeſuits were affected by the new maxims that now began to prevail.

In A. D. 1767, the government of Milan publiſhed a law by which all the rights which the popes and the biſhops had before exerciſed were transferred to a council eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe, and no ſubject of that ſtate was permitted to go to Rome to ſolicit any favour except letters of indulgence, without the conſent of the ſame council. *An. Reg.* p. 6. The ſame law was publiſhed in Venice in the pontificate of Benedict XIV, but it occaſioned ſo much debate, that the republic thought proper to repeal it in the beginning of the pontificate of Clement XIII. *Ib.*

In the ſame year almoſt all the powers of Italy were employed in reſtraining eccleſiaſtical authority, or making ſtrict enquiries into the ſtate of the clergy with that view. Many reſtrictions were laid on the different orders of monks with reſpect to the manner of admitting noviciates, and the number they were allowed to receive, with a view to diminiſh them. The republic of Venice at the ſame time made ſeveral new regulations about the

exerciſe of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction in their territory; and becauſe the biſhop of Breſcia would not ſubmit to them, his revenues were confiſcated. *Ib.* p. 55.

At this time too an edict was iſſued in Naples by which the powers that had been exerciſed by the pope's nuncio were transferred to the ſecular judges and magiſtrates. This court was alſo determined to leſſon the number of monaſteries. With this view a ſtrict enquiry was made into the ſtate of their revenues. The leſſer ones were ſuppreſſed, and it was forbidden to take the vows, or the habit, of any religious order whatever. And the king was requeſted by a printed petition to reunite to the crown the rights of patronage over all the churches of the kingdom which were poſſeſſed of royal fiefs or eſtates.

By an edict of the king of France in May A. D. 1768, none of the monaſtic orders could have more than two monaſteries in Paris, or more than one in any other city. Alſo the houſes of the Cordeliers in the whole kingdom were reduced one third. *De Loys Harmonie des Prophecies*, p. 213.

A violent ſtorm was raiſed which threatened great and imminent danger to the papal power this year by the proceedings reſpecting Parma. The eccleſiaſtics of this ſtate had enjoyed very ex-

traordinary

traordinary privileges. Not only were their eſtates and effects free from all taxes, but they continued to be ſo after they were alienated, in conſequence of which the pubic revenues were greatly reduced. An application that was made to the pope for the redreſs of this grievance having no effect. the duke publiſhed what he called *a pragmatic ſanction*, or ordonance, by which his ſubjects were forbidden to appeal to Rome, and no benefices or dignities could be enjoyed by any foreigner, or any native without his permiſſion.

The pope alarmed at this, threatened the duke with excommunication, &c. in the uſual manner; declaring that the dutchy of Parma was his ſovereignty, and the duke his feudatory, tho' the papal claims on that dutchy had been given up in former treaties. In return the duke ordered all the Jeſuits in his territory amounting to one hundred and ſixty to be ſeized in the night of the 17th of February, and ſent into the eccleſiaſtical ſtates, with a prohibition ever to return, even tho' they ſhould be abſolved from their vows; allowing the prieſts among them ſeventy crowns each for their lives, and the lay brothers forty. At the ſame time the brief of the pope was declared to be ſpurious, and treated with great contempt.

The conduct of the pope in this buſineſs gave great offence to the Catholic powers. On its being

ing communicated to the king of Naples, he took poſſeſſion of Benevento and Ponte Corvo. He alſo laid claim to the dutchies of Caſtro and Ronciglione. He declared the pope's bull to be ſpurious, and that which bore the title of *In cœna Domini*, which aſſerted that no eccleſiaſtics are ſubject to the temporal powers or lay jurisdiction, to be illegal; that the pope is only the premier among the biſhops, and inferior to a general council, and that he has no direct juriſdiction over the ſubjects of other princes.

The king of France took this opportunity of ſeizing on Avignon and the county of Venaiſſin, as fiefs belonging to his crown, while the vice legate could only denounce ſpiritual penalties againſt thoſe who ſeized on effects belonging to the church, to which no regard was paid. At the ſame time the religious houſes in that territory were ſealed up, thoſe belonging to the Jeſuits being firſt ſtripped of every thing of value in them. *An. Reg.* 1768, p. 46. The parliament of Paris alſo declared the pope's brief to be illegal, and derogatory to the honour of all ſovereigns.

An application for the revocation of this brief was made by the miniſters of France, Spain, and Vienna; but with great firmneſs the pope refuſed to comply with it; ſaying that, "their maſters

"might

" might ſeize his territories, and even his perſon,
" if they pleaſed, that he would make no reſiſtance,
" if it was in his power; but he would not betray
" the intereſt of the church. It was not," he ſaid,
" the cuſtom of the holy ſee to revoke its judg-
" ments, which were never paſſed but after the
" moſt mature deliberation, and always with the
" concurrence of the holy ſpirit."

The king of Portugal entered into theſe meaſures of the princes of the houſe of Bourbon, and ſent a miniſter to Rome with orders to make a common cauſe with them. The republic of Venice alſo ſent a memorial to the pope, ſoliciting the revocation of the brief againſt the duke of Parma. The duke of Modena laid hold of this opportunity of publiſhing an edict ſimilar to that of the duke of Parma, by which the eſtates of the clergy in his dominions were made liable to the ſame impoſts with thoſe of his other ſubjects, and he gave notice to the monks of three of his monaſteries to quit his dominions in three days, and ſixteen others were threatened with the ſame fate. The court of Rome expreſſing its reſentment at theſe meaſures, the duke revived his claim to the dutchy of Ferrara.

The pope, ſteady to his purpoſe, oppoſed theſe innovations with remonſtrances in a high tone of authority, but ſoon after, loaded with years and infirmities, he died. His ſucceſſor was the cardinal Ganganelli,

Ganganelli, a man of great virtue and moderation, who aſſumed the name of Clement XIV. Yet when he was ſolicited by all the princes of the houſe of Bourbon to ſuppreſs the order of Jeſuits, to make a ceſſion of Avignon, &c. to France, and of Benevento, &c. to Naples, he ſhewed more firmneſs than was expected. In a letter which he wrote to the king of France, he ſaid that he had ſuſpended the effects of the brief againſt the duke of Parma, but that he could not conſent to the ſuppreſſion of the Jeſuits, or give up any territory belonging to the holy ſee, tho' he ſhould never oppoſe force to force. This, however, did not prevent the king of France from ſeizing Avignon, and annexing it to the kingdom of France, tho' he agreeed to pay ſix millions of livres to the pope, and the king of Naples kept poſſeſſion of Benevento.

Tho' the houſe of Auſtria did not adopt the violent meaſures of that of Bourbon, the ſtates of Milan ſeized on the celebrated monaſtery of the Chartreuſe de Buccia, one of the richeſt in Italy; and ſequeſtered its effects, allowing to the monks an annual penſion of an hundred piſtoles each; and all the eccleſiaſtics were forbidden to alienate their eſtates without the conſent of the ſovereign.

The elector of Bavaria forbad the taking of any monaſtic vows before the age of twenty one. He ordered the priſons in the monaſteries to be demoliſhed,

liſhed, that no ſuperior ſhould have any juriſdiction, civil or criminal, over any member of the houſe; that the begging of the Mendicants ſhould be diſcontinued from the 1ſt of May A. D. 1770; that there ſhould be no more hermits in his eſtates; and that the Recollects ſhould receive no novices till their number ſhould be reduced to four hundred. *De Loys*, p. 213.

In this year alſo the duke of Tuſcany aboliſhed the right of aſylum in the churches of his eſtates; and the ſame was done in others. *Ib.* p. 215.

The archbiſhop of Vienna, in a circular letter addreſſed to all the monaſteries and chapters in his dioceſe, forbad the carrying of any relicks of ſaints in proceſſion, or to dreſs or adorn their ſtatues or images in churches. *Ib.*

The duke of Saxe Gotha ſuppreſſed all the feſtivals of the ſaints. The elector of Mayence did the ſame, ordering ſome of them to be transferred to the Sunday following. *Ib.* p. 216.

At length, however, the moderation of this pope almoſt recovered what the rigour of his predeceſſor had loſt. France gave up Avignon, and the king of Naples gave up his claim to Benevento, and as this pope in A. D. 1773 conſented to the abolition of the order of the Jeſuits, peace was made with the princes of the houſe of Bourbon,

and

and things were continued on their former footing. The ſtates of Italy, however, ſtill continued to curtail the power of the eccleſiaſtics. The Venetians refuſed to receive a bull from the pope, by which he had conferred two abbies in their ſtates upon the cardinal Rezzonico; the ſenate having reſolved that no perſon ſhould poſſeſs any benefice in their territories who did not reſide in them. Alſo two religious houſes were ſuppreſſed in the dutchy of Milan.

In A. D. 1774, the inquiſition in Spain was deprived of all its formidable power, being reduced to little more than a college of enquiry in religious matters. Its juriſdiction, and its priſons, were taken from it, and thoſe powers reſtored to the civil tribunals.

In the year following a law was paſſed in the grand dutchy of Tuſcany regulating the age, terms, and mode of admiſſion of both ſexes into the monaſtic orders, ſo as not only effectually to check all abuſes in them, but gradually to promote their ſuppreſſion, which ſeemed now to be an object with all the Catholic princes.

In this year alſo the regency of Milan aboliſhed the court of inquiſition. Venice continued inflexible to the claims of the popes, and the king of Naples ordered his biſhops, under heavy penalties, to fill up the vacancies in thoſe numerous benefices

es in his dominions, which had formerly been conſidered as the ſole gift of the holy ſee.

It was in this year that the pope died, and was ſucceeded by the cardinal John Angelo Braſchi, who aſſumed the name of Pius VI, and filled the papal chair till the year A. D. 1800. It is an argument in his favour that he was greatly eſteemed by Benedict XIV, and employed by him in many affairs of importance, in which he always diſtinguiſhed himſelf hy his diſintereſtedneſs, zeal, and ability. He was alſo a great favourite with the late pope, and by him made cardinal, and treaſurer of the apoſtolic chamber.

Till this period the emperors of the houſe of Auſtria had been bigotted Catholics, and the principal ſupporters of the papal power; but in this the emperor Joſeph who was ſuſpected to be an unbeliever, diſcovered very little attachment to the holy ſee. He began his reign with a great variety of reforms, both of a civil and eccleſiaſtical nature. In A. D. 1782, he ſuppreſſed all thoſe religious orders of both ſexes which were entirely devoted to a contemplative life, as the Carthuſians, Benedictines, Bernardins, Dominicans, and Franciſcans, &c. but he ſpared thoſe nuns who were employed in the education of youth, and he allowed penſions to thoſe who did not leave the Auſtrian dominions. More than fifty three monaſteries were

ſuppreſſed in Auſtria alone. About the ſame time he iſſued edicts of general toleration of religion, which greatly offended his bigotted ſubjects, eſpecially in Brabant.

The pope, alarmed at theſe proceedings of the emperor, undertook a journey to Vienna, and was received with every mark of outward reſpect. What paſſed between him and the emperor is not certainly known. He, no doubt, remonſtrated againſt his innovations in religion; but there was no change in the emperors meaſures in conſequence of it.

The far greateſt blow that was received by the papal power in this period, was given to it in France, in conſequence of the revolution that has taken place in that country. But ſome ſteps towards a general toleration were taken before this, in A. D. 1786, when, during the adminiſtration of the archbiſhop of Thouloufe, an edict was iſſued to enable the Proteſtants to regiſter their births, marriages, and deaths, in a court of juſtice, and alſo to inherit property; whereas before it was not known to the law that any ſuch perſons exiſted, tho' they were openly connived at. In the oppoſition that was made to the paſſing of this edict, it is remarkable that all profeſſed themſelves the friends of toleration, tho' ſome objected to this particular

ticular mode of granting it; ſuch progreſs had good ſenſe, and the maxims of ſound policy, made in this period.

When the national aſſembly was formed in A. D. 1789, the finances appearing to be greatly deranged, and other reſources failing, Taleyrand Perigord biſhop of Auſtun, propoſed the annual appropriation of fifty out of one hundred and fifty millions, to which the emoluments of the clergy amounted, and this bold and generous propoſal, after much debating, was acceded to. This meaſure was not much objected to at Paris, but in the provinces, and eſpecially in the ſouth of France, this and other meaſures, which were apprehended to be aimed at the Catholic religion, excited violent tumults, and in ſome places the Proteſtants, at the inſtigation of the monks and the clergy, were ſet upon, and ſome of them maſſacred. This meaſure was followed by a new organization of the clergy, according to which all the officiating clergy were to be choſen by the people, and ſome part of the emoluments were taken from the richer benefices, and given to the poorer. *

* A decree of the national aſſembly at the cloſe of the year A. D. 1789, declaring the eſtates of the church to be national property, had filled the court of Rome with the greateſt conſternation. *New An. Register.*

At this time the people of Avignon ſeized the palace, took down the papal arms, and ſet up thoſe of France, petitioning the national aſſembly that this territory might be annexed to the dominion of France. This occaſioned a bloody conteſt at the place, which was in ſome meaſure quieted by troops ſent for the purpoſe; and at length it was determined in the aſſembly to annex that territory to France, and to give the pope a compenſation for it.

The principal oppoſition to the new conſtitution coming from the clergy, a law was made by which they were required to take an oath to be faithful to it, and with this many of them complied; but others not complying the obligation was enforced by a new decree, declaring that thoſe who refuſed to take the *civic oath*, as it was termed, ſhould looſe their benefices, and become ſubject to other pains and penalties. On this a great number reſigned their livings, and the pope declared his ſtrong diſapprobation of the conduct of the aſſembly. At firſt theſe non-juring clergymen were allowed a penſion of five hundred livres a year, but in A. D. 1792 it was ordered to be withdrawn, and farther penalties were inflicted in caſe of any diſturbance being occaſioned by them. Here the king interpoſed his *veto*, when another decree was paſſed authorizing the baniſhment of any non-juring

ring prieſt, on the petition of twenty citizens, in twenty four hours; but the king again interpoſed his *veto*. But when the king had no longer any power, that decree was paſſed, tho' the diſtreſs occaſioned by it was very great. Some of theſe prieſts were committed to priſon till they could be ſent out of the country, and ſome were maſſacred by the populace. Many of theſe emigrant prieſts were hoſpitably received in England, and a public proviſion was made for them.

In the conſtitution of A. D. 1793, it was declared that all perſons had a right to aſſemble peaceably for public worſhip, and that no favour ſhould be ſhewn to any particular ſects; by which the eſtabliſhment of the Catholic, or any particular mode of religion, was entirely ſet aſide. On this Gobet archbiſhop of Paris, with other members of the eccleſiaſtical body, entered the hall of the aſſembly, and ſolemnly renounced both their functions, and the chriſtian religion. Several of the clergy who were members of the aſſembly did the ſame, and Gregoire was the only one of them who had the courage to profeſs himſelf a chriſtian, tho' he ſaid the emoluments of his biſhopric were ready to be devoted to the ſervice of the republic.

With a view, no doubt, to the aboliſhing of chriſtianity, and if poſſible to conſign it to oblivion, the chriſtian æra was ordered to be diſuſed,

and that of the French republic to be adopted, the year *one* corresponding to A. D. 1793. The names of the months were alſo changed, and inſtead of the diviſion of time into weeks of ſeven days, a new one into tens was introduced.

Soon after this the churches in Paris were ſhut up by an order of the commune, but this cauſing a great clamour, they were opened again, and the freedom of religious worſhip again declared. On this occaſion Roberſpierre was thought to have acquired much popularity, by taking part with the people in defence of religion.

In A. D. 1794, at the propoſal of Roberſpierre, it was decreed that the French nation acknowledged the exiſtence of a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the ſoul, and that the worſhip of the Supreme Being conſiſts in the practice of the duties of man. At the ſame time the perfect freedom of religious worſhip was again aſſerted, and a feſtival day was appointed to be celebrated on the 8th of June in honour of the Supreme Being. As it was ſtill generally ſuppoſed that the aſſembly meant to ſuppreſs the chriſtian religion, it was thought proper to paſs a decree on the 21ſt of February A. D. 1795, and it was done unanimouſly, for ſecuring the freedom of religious worſhip and opinions. This encouraged ſome of the Catholics not only to frequent their places of worſhip, but to appoint a ſynod

nod for the purpoſe of ſeeking a reconciliation with the pope. This, however was not permitted, but the Catholics were left in the enjoyment of religious liberty, together with all other perſons.

That in this revolution no reſpect was paid to the intereſt of the pope is not to be wondered at, ſince in the general coalition of the other powers againſt the French, he did not fail to act his part. He publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he recommended a general armament in order to the extermination of the friends of the revolution, as men without faith, and without law; offering at the ſame time abſolution to criminals who ſhould take up arms for the church and the ſtate; excepting none from this riſing in maſs but children, old men, and prieſts, who in the language of the manifeſto were to raiſe up their hands on the mountain, while the faithful fought in the plain. *New Annual Regiſter for* A. D. 1798, p. 303.

Conſidering how deeply the pope and the court of Rome were intereſted in the French revolution, it was impoſſible but that they muſt have been hoſtile to it; but the papal power, both in ſpirituals and temporals, was now inconſiderable. Such as it was, however, it was exerted when the French invaded Italy in A. D. 1797, the pope ſending troops, it is ſaid, to join the Auſtrians. In conſequence of this, as ſoon as Buonaparte was at

liberty, he began his march towards Rome; and the oppoſition he met with was ſo feeble, that it was evident he might have proceeded without any obſtruction, and have overturned the papal government, if that had been his object.

Then, however, the pope, ſenſible of his danger and of his weakneſs, addreſſed a ſubmiſſive letter to that general, and a treaty was concluded between them, by which the pope renounced all connexion with the powers that were coaleſced againſt France. He allowed the annexation of Avignon to it, and alſo gave up Bologna, and ſome other places, beſides advancing a ſum of money, and delivering up a great number of ſtatues, pictures, manuſcripts, &c.

Conceiving freſh hopes from the extraordinary exertions that were made by the Auſtrians in A. D. 1798, the pope was encouraged to join his forces to theirs, and to put them under the command of an Auſtrian general. This being an evident infraction of the treaty, a French army was again ſent into the papal territory; and meeting with no great reſiſtance, they advanced very near to Rome, having in their way taken Loretto, and carried off what they could find of the treaſure that had been lodged in that celebrated place of pilgrimage, together with the famous image of the virgin, her wardrobe, &c.

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In theſe circumſtances of alarm, the pope again addreſſed a letter to Buonaparte, and ſent ambaſſadors to conclude a peace. In this letter he called him his *dear ſon*, and gave him his paternal and apoſtolic benediction. On the 19th of February the peace was ſigned on terms nearly the ſame with thoſe of the preceding year, Buonaparte being unwilling to take advantage of the pope's ſituation. He, however, agreed to ſet at liberty all perſons who had been confined in Rome for their political opinions, and to ſend to Paris to make an apology for the murder of Mr. Baſſeville, the French envoy, in a popular tumult.

But the ſpirit of revolution had pervaded the eccleſiaſtical ſtate before the arrival of the French armies in Italy. This ſpirit, which no papal edicts could charm, and no puniſhment ſuppreſs, was now aided by pecuniary embarraſſments, in conſequence of the heavy exactions of the French. In this ſtate of things the pope and the cardinals could hardly make their appearance without being inſulted, and the friends of revolution applied to the French ambaſſador Joſeph Buonaparte for their aſſiſtance in effecting it. But neither he nor any of the French officers, gave them the leaſt encouragement.

The popular tumult increaſing, the French did every thing in their power to ſuppreſs it, and in

doing this general Duplot was killed. But tho' the papal government had no concern in this, the French ambaſſador left Rome upon it; and the French directory, eager to lay hold on any occaſion to extend their influence, directed their army under general Berthier to enter Rome, on the pretence of revenging the murder of Baſſeville and Duphot. Being joined by the populace, they proclaimed the *Roman Republic*; and no offers made by the pope could now prevent the total abolition of the papal government; a kind of proviſional government being formed under the denomination of *conſuls* compoſed of ſix members, but for ten years the French were to have a *veto* on their proceedings.

The cardinals, and the more wealthy ſupporters of the former ſyſtem, being taken into cuſtody, procured their liberty by great ſacrifices, and ſome eſcaped in diſguiſe. The pope in a kind of ſtupefaction remained in Rome, but this not being approved of he went to Sienna, and thence to a place near Florence. But the grand duke being required to diſmiſs him, he intended to go to Sardinia, but on account of his age and infirmities he was permitted to continue there ſome time longer.

But the French directory, having had proof of his inſincerity, did not chuſe to truſt him in Italy; and by their orders he was removed to Valence in France,

France, where, however, he was treated with due reſpect, and permitted to exerciſe his ſpiritual functions. Still jealous of his neighbourhood to Italy, the directory gave orders for his removal to Dijon; and the notice of this, finding him in a weak exhauſted ſtate, operated like the ſentence of death, on this venerable old man, and he ſurvived it but a ſhort time, dying on the 29th of Auguſt, A. D. 1799, in the eighty ſecond year of his age. Not long after Buonaparte being in power, the body, which had not been buried, was ordered to be interred with all the honours due to his rank, and a monument to be erected on the place of his burial. *New An. Reg.* 1799, p. 411, 483.

This pope, tho' diſtinguiſhed for his piety, loſt the reſpect of his ſubjects on account of his perſonal vanity, and eſpecially his attachment to his nephews, whom he advanced and enriched beyond their merits. He deſerved praiſe for the addition he made to the muſeum in the Vatican, and his undertaking to drain the Pontino marſh; but this contributed to exhauſt the people, and enrich his nephews, and was never completed.

After a moderate interval, another pope was elected, and took the name of Pius VII; and at the peace in A. D. 1802, he was allowed to retain the ſovereignty of all the eccleſiaſtical ſtates, except Bologna, ſome other places in its neighbourhood,

head, and Avignon in France; when it ſeemed to be univerſally taken for granted, that no future pope would be any thing more than the ſpiritual head of the Catholic church, and that the eccleſiaſtical ſtates would be converted into a Republic. But it was an object with Buonaparte to appear the friend of religion, and eſpecially of that which was profeſſed by the majority of the people of France, and his inclination was deciſive.

In the ſhameful abandonment of religion by many of the French clergy, Gregoire the biſhop of Blois, who had before diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his eloquent defence of the Jews, ſtood alone in the national convention againſt the torrent of atheiſm, and yet was always as zealous a republican as any man. In the ſtate of perſecution, as it may be called, to which the Catholics were afterwards reduced, and in which great numbers had apoſtatized, he retained all his laudable zeal, and publiſhed paſtoral letters to revive the ſpirit of his church.

In A. D. 1798 he procured a national council to be held, in which the ſtate of the church was repreſented as indeed deplorable in every reſpect. In order to reſtore it, the moſt conciliatory meaſures were adopted to compoſe their differences, and all the remaining clergy were exhorted to the aſſiduous diſcharge of their functions. They acknowleged the ſupremacy of the pope as of divine right,

right, and profeſſed their adherence to all the articles of the catholic creed. The zealous biſhop concluded with an eloquent addreſs to the aſſembly, in which he ſaid, "The political world is ſhaken "to its center, the inquiſition and deſpotiſm, ty- "ranny civil and religious, are crumbled to the "duſt;" and he ventured to prognoſticate the approach of the glorious times which are the ſubject of many prophecies, when the Jews will be reſtored and converted. It does not appear, however, that this aſſembly of the clergy had any conſiderable conſequences.

In the mean time an attempt was made by the enemies of chriſtianity to ſubſtitute in the place of chriſtian worſhip one of ſimple deiſm, and the government favoured it by allowing the *theophilanpiſti*, as they called themſelves, the uſe of the churches. An attempt of the ſame kind had been made in London ſome years before, and a ſcheme of the ſame nature had been propoſed by Voltaire. But it appeared from all theſe ſchemes, and from this in France as well as the others, that where there is no belief of revealed religion, there will be no zeal for any, ſufficient to keep up any form of worſhip. Theſe ſocieties, favoured as they were, ſunk gradually into neglect and contempt.

At length, after the French nation had continued ſeveral years without any eſtabliſhment of religion,

and all the denominations of chriſtians ſeemed to be well contented with the liberty of profeſſing their own, and maintaining their miniſters, the policy of Buonaparte led him to make an agreement with the pope; in conſequence an advantage was given to the Catholics as the moſt numerous, but two other, denominations, viz. the Lutherans and the Reformed, the next in importance, have ſalaries for their miniſters from the ſtate; but all other claſſes of chriſtians may be tolerated or not, at the pleaſure of the government.

According to this *Concordat*, as the inſtrument ſigned by the pope and Buonaparte was called, the Catholic religion is to be profeſſed by the conſuls; the biſhoprics, and alſo the pariſhes, are to be arranged in ſome new manner; the biſhops, who are to ſwear fidelity to the government, and to be native Frenchmen, are to be nominated by the firſt conſul, by which he undoubtedly gains a conſiderable acceſſion of influence, and canonical inſtitution is to be given by the pope, for which, no doubt, he will receive ſome acknowledgment, and all the churches are to be at the diſpoſal of the biſhops.

No act of the court of Rome can be publiſhed in France before it has been examined and approved by the government, nor can any eccleſiaſtical aſſembly be held, or any holyday except Sunday

be

be eſtabliſhed, without its authority. No religious ceremony can be performed out of the church in any town in which there is a temple deſtined for any other mode of worſhip. Bells are not to ring without the permiſſion of the local police. No preachers are directly or indirectly to inveigh againſt any other mode of worſhip, or the miniſters of it; nor are they to give the nuptial benediction to any but thoſe who have contracted marriage before the civil officer. For all religious acts the antient calendar is to be uſed, and the day of reſt for the public functionaries is to be Sunday.

None beſides Frenchmen can be miniſters of any mode of worſhip. No articles of faith can be publiſhed or taught before the government has authorized it, nor can any mode of diſcipline be introduced without the ſame authority. There are to be two academies for the education of miniſters of the Auguſtan confeſſion, and Geneva for thoſe of the Reformed. The profeſſors in all the academies are to be appointed by the firſt conſul. In all theſe ſeminaries thoſe who are deſigned for the miniſtry are to ſtudy a certain time, and to have a teſtimonial of their good morals. All the regulations for the interior police of theſe ſeminaries, the number and quality of the profeſſors, and their mode of teaching, &c. are to be approved by the government.

This

This ſcheme is not likely to give ſatisfaction to any except thoſe of the Lutheran and the Reformed religions, who gain conſiderably by it, tho' they are laid under ſome diſagreeable reſtrictions. The Catholics looſe much of their former conſequence, and the friends of perfect liberty in matters of religion, unitarians and others, are wholly at the mercy of thoſe who are at the head of government, who may tolerate or perſecute them at their pleaſure.

Defective as this conſtitution muſt appear to the friends of equal religious liberty, which is the natural right of all men, it is a great improvement on the former eſtabliſhed religion of France, and in many reſpects it is ſuperior to that of England, which provides for no miniſters beſides thoſe who can ſubſcribe the thirty nine articles of their church, excludes all others from the benefit of the national univerſities, and holds out the puniſhment of confiſcation of goods, and eventually of impriſonment for life, to Unitarians; beſides laying all the tolerated ſects under many civil diſabilities, none of them being eligible to any office of power or truſt under the government, or even in any corporate town.

How infinitely inferior are both theſe conſtitutions to that of the United States of America, in which I have the happineſs to reſide, where the

government

government takes no more cognizance of religion than it does of philoſophy, but every perſon is at liberty to provide for himſelf in that reſpect as well as in any other. And the happy effects of this univerſal liberty are very conſpicuous. In conſequence of no particular ſect being favoured by the government, they all live on good terms with each other, religious truth has all the advantage that its advocates can wiſh for, a native or a ſtranger may preach or publiſh whatever he pleaſes; and tho' no form of religion is particularly favoured, there is as much of a general belief, and open profeſſion, of religion as in England or France: Its influence on practice is certainly not leſs. It were to be wiſhed that this was more conſpicuous than it is in all countries.

SECTION IV.

Of the ſuppreſſion of the Jeſuits.

THIS period was diſtinguiſhed by the entire ſuppreſſion of the order of Jeſuits, an event as unexpected as it was extraordinary; ſhewing in the moſt ſtriking light the great difference between this and the preceding period, when any attempt of the kind would have been hazardous for the peace of any Catholic country in Europe; and this meaſure was begun in Portugal, and followed by Spain, countries the moſt ſubſervient to the papal power, whoſe chief ſupporters the Jeſuits had been.

The real cauſes of the extreme animoſity with which the Jeſuits were purſued, and their extermination urged, are matters of conjecture; but the probability is, that it was their frequent interference in the politics of ſtates. Their ſuppoſed wealth, as well as their power and influence, might have been ſome object, tho' they were not in general ſo wealthy

wealthy as had been imagined. In Paraguay it is ſaid they paid little regard to any orders from the court of Spain, and ſometimes oppoſed the governors with force of arms, and that they almoſt monopolized the trade of the Spaniſh Weſt Indies. This, however, is exceedingly improbable. As to their doctrines, ſuch as that of the lawfulneſs of killing ſovereign princes when the intereſt of the church required it, &c, they were become obſolete, and not having of many years been acted upon, they were little regarded, tho' they were urged among other pretences for the ſeverity with which they were treated.

On the 1ſt of October A. D. 1758, as the king of Portugal was returning to Liſbon from the country, he was attacked by three perſons in diſguiſe, and tho' not killed, was dangerouſly wounded. For this many perſons were apprehended, and ſome executed; and it being ſuſpected that ſome of the Jeſuits were concerned in the buſineſs, a congregation was appointed by the pope to make inquiry concerning it; when one hundred and ſeventeen of them were ſentenced to ſpend their lives in the fortreſs of Mazagan, or in the iſland of Tercera; others were ſent to Rome, and none ſuffered to remain in the country. But that the pope did not give ſatisfaction to the court of Portugal, is e-

vident, for about the ſame time the pope's nuncio was diſmiſſed from the court of Portugal, and the Portugueſe miniſter left Rome.

That the court of Spain received any particular provocation from the Jeſuits, does not at all appear; ſo that its conduct with reſpect to them, muſt be aſcribed to ſome general policy. In what manner ſoever it was brought about, this great meaſure was determined upon in a council held January 29th, A. D. 1767, the commiſſion for the execution of it was iſſued February 27th; and on the night of March 31ſt, while the Jeſuits, vigilant as that body of men always were, and having the moſt extenſive correſpondence, were not in the leaſt apprized of any danger, ſix of their houſes in Madrid were ſurrounded with troops, and the occupiers of them conducted to Carthegena.

Three days after this the ſame meaſures were taken at Barcelona, and in every other part of Spain. Their effects were every where ſeized, and their perſons conveyed to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate in Italy, all the native Spaniards among them being allowed a ſmall penſion for their lives. But this was to be withdrawn if any of them ever quitted the pope's territories, or gave the court of Spain any juſt cauſe of reſentment. Moreover, if any Jeſuit whatever, ſhould write any thing by way of

apology,

apology, or juſtification, tending to diſturb the peace of the kingdom, all the penſions ſhould be taken away. The return of any of them, and all correſpondence with them, were ſtrictly forbidden, and all publications on the ſubject were declared to be high treaſon.

The account of this tranſaction was received in Rome with the greateſt aſtoniſhment, and while the firſt impreſſion remained, nine hundred and ſeventy Jeſuits arrived at Civita Vecchia; but the pope gave orders that they ſhould land, and all his remonſtrances with the court of Spain proving fruitleſs, the republic of Geneva was induced by the court of France to permit them to ſettle in thoſe towns in Corſica, which then belonged to it; but it was a long time before theſe, or thoſe that were ſent after them, could be ſet on ſhore, there having been much difficulty in ſettling the terms on which they could be received. At length it is ſaid that two thouſand three hundred were landed in that iſland; and as they had been at ſea in crouded ſhips, three months, in the hotteſt ſeaſon of the year, and ſome of the veſſels had ſuffered by ſtorms, many had died of the hardſhips to which they had been expoſed, and with which they were ill prepared by their former modes of life to encounter. This too was in addition to what they muſt have ſuffered in mind, in conſequence of being ſepara-

ted from their friends, and the ſuddeneſs of the calamity. Their ſufferings, however, were ſmall compared with thoſe of which the ſociety, tho' not theſe particular members of it, had been the occaſion from the time of their inſtitution.

The orders of the court of Spain were executed with the ſame ſecrecy and effect in all their colonies. In Mexico ſeven hundred Jeſuits were arreſted, and of thoſe alone, it is ſaid, that their wealth amounted to ſeventy ſeven millions of piaſtres. Alſo their effects in merchandize were valued at a prodigious ſum, and in the ſouthern provinces, and the Weſt Indies, they were ſaid to have been richer than in Mexico. But no oppoſition was made to the meaſures of the court, not even in Paraguay.

The perſecution of this obnoxious order did not end with Spain and Portugal. On the 13th of May of the ſame year the parliament of Paris publiſhed an arret, by which the Jeſuits were declared to be the enemies of ſovereigns, and of the tranquillity of kingdoms, and they were all ordered to quit the kingdom in fifteen days, under pain of criminal proſecution, and were forbidden ever to return. Alſo the king was requeſted to apply to the pope, and all the catholic ſovereigns, to engage him to aboliſh a ſociety ſo dangerous to chriſtianity and to government.

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On the 20th of November the ſame ſtorm fell on the Jeſuits in Naples and Sicily; and they were all conveyed to the pope's dominions, notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances againſt it. Theſe amounted, it is ſaid, to fifteen hundred, and there were ſtill eight hundred of the Portugueſe Jeſuits then alive, and unprovided for. There was alſo at that time a great ſcarcity of corn in the eccleſiaſtical ſtates. Their expulſion from Malta quickly followed that from Naples, and it was done at the requeſt of the king.

The diſpoſal of the Jeſuits occaſioned much debate in the congregations which were held for that purpoſe in Rome. At length it was determined to ſupport the ſociety, which had been of ſo much uſe to the holy ſee, and to intercede with the Catholic princes in their favour. They could not, however, have much proſpect of ſucceſs. For at this time ſuch was the rancour with which this order was purſued, that in almoſt all the Catholic ſtates, the reading of their works, even on ſubjects of mathematics and ſcience, was forbidden.

When the French got poſſeſſion of Corſica, the Jeſuits were baniſhed from that iſland, and more than two thouſand of them were landed on the territory of Genoa, and thence conducted in a deſtitute and ſtarved condition to the eccleſiaſti-

dal ſtates, to the great affliction of the pope, whoſe remonſtrances had no effect to pacify the indignation of the houſe of Bourbon; theſe princes inſiſting on the total abolition of the order.

In this ſtate of things the pope wrote an affecting letter to the queen of Hungary, in which he ſaid, "We reſpect the hand of thoſe ſove-"reigns by whom God now corrects, viſits, and "humbles us; and tho' it were in our power to "repel force by force, we would nevertheleſs pre-"fer humiliation to triumph; being convinced "that the piety of monarchs is our ſtrength, and "that our beſt arms are tears and prayers. Our "whole defence is in the hands of God, who "ſoftens and nerves the hearts of princes." How different is this from the language of former popes, that is of popes in different circumſtances.

Had this pope Clement XIII lived much longer, and retained the ſame obſtinacy, there might have been an irreparable breach between the papacy, and thoſe powers which had always been the principal ſupports of it. But he dying, a pontiff of more prudence, viz. Ganganalli (Clement XIV) ſucceded him, and after ſome time conſented to the ſuppreſſion of the order of Jeſuits, making their general Ricci a biſhop, and providing for the ſubſiſtence of the others according to their circumſtances.

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When this was done it did not appear that this celebrated, and ſo much vilified, ſociety, had the wealth it was ſuppoſed to poſſeſs. At leaſt no great treaſures were found in their poſſeſſion, and as ſome of the other orders, particularly the Benedictines, had of late exerted themſelves at leaſt as much as they had ever done in the cauſe of general literature, their ſuppreſſion was not attended with any inconvenience to the public, and the apprehenſions of their enemies were quieted. Pere Boscovich, whom I ſaw at Paris in A. D. 1774, bitterly lamented this event, and blamed the weakneſs of their general, and of the pope, on the occaſion.

SECTION V.

Of the State of Religion in Poland.

THE reformation was received in a very early period in Poland, and many of the provinces which conſtituted that kingdom having been of the Greek religion, both that and the Catholic had been equally favoured by their princes. The ſame toleration was now extended to the Proteſtants, whether Lutherans, or the Reformed; and Sigiſmund Auguſtus in A. D. 1563, paſſed a law in the diet at Wilna, by which every perſon profeſſing the chriſtian religion was declared to have in all reſpects the ſame civil privileges. The ſame was confirmed at the diet at Grodno in A. D. 1568. It was likewiſe included among the privileges granted at the diet of Lublin the year following, when the grand dutchy of Lithuania was annexed to the crown of Poland. *Annual Regiſter*, A. D. 1767.

At this time the Catholics were bu tfew in compariſon with the other inhabitants of Poland, and the grand

grand marſhal Firley, who convened the firſt diet of the republic, in which the crown was made elective, was a Proteſtant. Then alſo "a perpetual "peace between the Greeks, the Catholics, and "the Proteſtants, was made a fundamental law "of the republic, which every ſovereign was "to take an oath to preſerve. All the nobles a-"greed in their own names, and for their ſucceſ-"ſors, to ſhed no blood, or to inflict on any per-"ſon the penalty of confiſcation of goods, defama-"tion, impriſonment, or exile, on account of a "difference of faith, or the rites of their churches; "and if any ſhould violate this ſolemn compact, "they engaged to oppoſe him, tho' he ſhould ſhel-"ter himſelf under any decree, or other judicial "proceeding."

But by the great zeal of Sigiſmund III, in the courſe of a long reign, a great proportion of the Poliſh nobles became Catholics; ſo that tho' at the beginning of his reign only five members of the ſenate were of that religion, at his death they were a great majority of them. And means were found at the treaty of Oliva in A. D. 1660, to keep the diſſidents entirely out of the ſenate.

Tho' in the reign of John Caſimir, when the Unitarians were baniſhed, all the other diſſidents were aſſured that they ſhould be continued in the enjoyment of all their rights and privileges, yet in the

the next reign all the cauſes in which they were concerned were decided by the ſame rules, and all the cauſes reſpecting *religion* being deemed the *cauſe of God*, they could have no advocates to plead for them.

Farther, at the treaty concluded with Peter the Great in A. D. 1717, much art was uſed to have an article inſerted, in conſequence of which, by a conſtruction not thought of at the time, the diſſidents were not permitted to build any more churches than had been uſed before the year A. D. 1632, when, for the ſake of peace, they conſented to build no new ones in any of the royal cities. In conſequence of this, all that they had built after that time were ordered to be pulled down, and even thoſe nobles who had miniſters in their houſes, and the miniſters themſelves, were puniſhed by fines, impriſonment, and baniſhment. Alſo, all their cauſes were decided in the inferior courts, in which the clergy chiefly preſided; whereas by the antient conſtitution all cauſes of an eccleſiaſtical nature were to be decided in the general diet only. Many proteſted againſt this decree, and even ſome Catholics, and this circumſtance alone, according to the conſtitution of Poland, which requires that all the decrees of the diet ſhould be unanimous, was ſufficient to invalidate it. Peter the great wrote a letter expreſſing his diſpleaſure on this occaſion,

ſion, and the king declared, in an edict, that he would maintain the diſſidents in the poſſeſſion of their former privileges. But neither the letter, nor the edict was of any uſe to them.

At the diet in A. D. 1736, not only was the conſtitution of A. D. 1717 confirmed, but the diſſidents were excluded from all public offices. It was alſo declared that if they ſhould apply to any foreign power, they ſhould be conſidered as traitors, tho' foreign powers were made guarantees to their privileges at the treaty of Oliva, when it was ſtipulated that all the ſubjects of the kingdom of Poland, of what condition or religion ſoever, ſhould enjoy the ſame rights and privileges which they had before.

In A. D. 1764 the preceding conſtitutions were confirmed. In A. D. 1766, however, the diſſidents applied to the powers which had been guarantees of the treaty of Oliva, to uſe their mediation with the king and the republic in their favour; and in conſequence of this the courts of Peterſburg, Berlin, Great Britain, and Denmark, preſented memorials in their favour, to be laid before the diet. But ſuch was the violence of party ſpirit, that after an inflammatory ſpeech of the biſhop of Wilna, it was decreed that the diſſidents had violated the laws of the republic in applying to foreign powers, and that their religion ſhould not be tolerated; but the king

king deferred the execution of the law at that time. The mediating powers made a freſh application, but with no more immediate effect than before, tho' a body of Ruſſian troops had marched into the heart of the country.

At length, however, the Catholic party thought proper to uſe more moderation, and agreed that the diſſidents ſhould enjoy their antient privileges, and repair their churches, or build new ones, wherever they had been allowed before; but they were not to enlarge their extent. Alſo, where they had not churches, they were permitted to have divine ſervice in their own houſes, and the Greek prieſts might baptize, marry, and bury as formerly, provided that the eſtabliſhed clergy had their uſual fees; and a college of biſhops was directed to endeavour to remove all their difficulties. But the biſhop of Wilna and ſome others refuſed to accede to this, tho' the king was thought to be a friend to toleration.

This decree, and eſpecially the putting of the diſſidents into the power of the catholic biſhops, who were their declared enemies, gave no ſatisfaction to thoſe powers who had guaranteed the treaty of Oliva, and the empreſs of Ruſſia was the firſt to expreſs her diſapprobation. On this, tho' the diſſident nobles were reduced to little more

than

than two hundred families, excluſive of thoſe in the dutchy of Courland they entered into confederacies in different places for the ſupport of their rights, the cities of Thorn, Elbing, and Dantzick, joined them, and the empreſs of Ruſſia declared her reſolution to ſupport them, to the utmoſt of her power. Alſo the kings of Pruſſia, England, Sweden and Denmark made ſimilar declarations, but Ruſſia alone took an active part in the buſineſs.

This example of the diſſidents was followed by many Catholics who likewiſe formed confederacies for the redreſs of other grievances, acknowledging the juſtice of the claims of the diſſidents. Theſe were diſtinguiſhed from the diſſidents by the denomination of *Malecontents*, and prince Radzivil, who had oppoſed the election of the king, and had left the country on that account, was made the marſhal of them. In order to reſtore the peace of the country, an extraordinary diet was called, in which, after much violent oppoſition on the part of the Catholics, and the interference of the Ruſſians, who took ſome of them into cuſtody, it was ſettled that the Catholic ſhould be the dominant religion in Poland, that the kings ſhould always be of it, but that the diſſidents ſhould enjoy all civil rights, that a ſuperior tribunal ſhould be appointed, conſiſting of an equal number of the three religions,

Catholics,

Catholics, Greeks, and Proteſtants, the preſident of which ſhould be of each alternately, and that all cauſes relating to the diſſidents ſhould be decided in it.

Notwithſtanding this ſeeming pacification, the offence given by the Ruſsians to all the parties, by their interference was ſo great, that numberleſs new confederacies were formed againſt them; but acting without any concert, they were all overpowered, tho' not till after a moſt dreadful devaſtation of the country, ſuch as we have no example of in modern times. This ſtate of conſtant war continued ſeveral years, and in A. D. 1770, was accompanied with a plague which made great havoc in the country, carrying off, it is ſaid, two hundred and fifty thouſand perſons. This ſcene of diſorder terminated in the empreſs of Ruſſia, the emperor of Germany, and the king of Pruſſia, making a partition of a great part of the country, in A. D. 1772, each taking what was contiguous to his own dominions notwithſtanding a ſpirited manifeſto of the king againſt this flagrant act of injuſtice.

The troubles of this unhappy country at length ceaſing, by the all prevailing influence of the empreſs of Ruſsia, the privileges of the diſsidents were aſcertained and ſecured to them in A. D. 1775; and they were allowed churches and ſchools

even

even in Warſaw. They had alſo a right of appeal in all caſes of grievance to a tribunal, in which a certain number of their own commons were aſſeſſors. Still, however, they were debarred from a place in the ſenate, and from occupying any office in the department of government. *An. Reg.* 1775, p. 155.

In A. D. 1793 all that remained of the antient country of Poland, was on various frivolous pretences, divided by the ſame powers that had made a diviſion of a part of it before; ſo that Poland has not at preſent any exiſtence as an independent ſtate.

SECTION VI.

Events in Great Britain.

BY way of oppoſition to the Puritans, who were advocates for the principles of liberty, and for reſtraining the power of the crown, the clergy in general, through the whole of the reign of the Stuarts, advanced the doctrine of paſsive obedience and non-reſiſtance; and in conſequence of this they were not a little embarraſſed when they found that they had a Catholic prince, bent upon introducing his own religion. In theſe circumſtances they became friendly to the nonconformiſts, and were willing to make a common cauſe with them againſt the common enemy. But when they were releaſed from their fears by the expulſion of James II, little of the moderation they had then ſhewn appeared.

King

King William, educated in the principles of toleration, profeſsing a religion different from that of the church of England, and his cauſe having been eſpouſed by the Diſſenters with at leaſt as much warmth as by the epiſcopalians, naturally wiſhed to favour both alike. But tho' no oppoſition was made to the *act of toleration*, which paſſed on his acceſsion, and which exempted the Diſſenters from the penalties of ſeveral of the laws by which they had been oppreſſed, (but which impoſed upon them an obligation to ſubſcribe all the doctrinal articles of the church of England) he could not prevail ſo far as to procure the repeal of the corporation and teſt acts, tho' in his ſpeech from the throne he expreſſed a wiſh that the parliament would make room for the admiſsion of all Proteſtants who were willing and able to ſerve him. Alſo, an attempt to enlarge the eſtabliſhment, and comprehend many of the Diſſenters in it, was defeated by the eccleſiaſtical commiſsion which was appointed for that purpoſe.

At this time ſome of the very high churchmen thinking James to be ſtill king *de jure*, and William only *de facto*, refuſed to take the oath of allegiance to the latter, and were in conſequence deprived of their benefices. And this diviſion of the church was kept up many years, eſpecially in Scotland, tho' the party was never numerous.

The attention which had been given to ſubjects of theology from the time of the reformation, could not fail to have produced a variety of opinions in the members of all chriſtian churches, nor could all the vigilance of laws prevent the freedom of writing and publiſhing. Leaſt of all could it be ſuppoſed that in a conſtitution ſo free as that of Great Britain, all the members, even of the eſtabliſhed church, ſhould continue to hold *bona fide*, all their thirty nine articles. In reality there were but comparitively few of them who did ſo. The generality openly diſclaimed the doctrines of original ſin and predeſtination, which are clearly enough contained in them, and were advocates for the Arminian doctrines.

In the country at large no ſmall number diſbelieved the doctrine of the trinity, and at the acceſſion of king William many of them, the diſciples and friends of Mr. Biddle, were proper *unitarians*, believing the ſimple humanity of Jeſus Chriſt. Theſe were ſo far from being allowed the benefit of the toleration, that, with the approbation of chriſtians of all other denominations, a new law was made, in which that doctrine was called *blaſphemous*, and it was made puniſhable by fine and impriſonment to profeſs it. It ſeems probable that this law was occaſioned by the publication of

many

many *unitarian tracts* in three ſmall quarto volumes at this time.

During the reign of king William, the high church party were not able to do more than fruſtrate his endeavours to extend the bounds of religious liberty. But in the latter part of the reign of queen Anne, they urged their intolerant maxims as much as they had ever done, and as many Diſſenters were at that time in the habit of communicating occaſionally with the church of England, by which means the object of the corporation and teſt acts were defeated with reſpect to them, in A. D. 1711, they procured an act to be paſſed by which any perſon in office reſorting to any meeting houſe of Diſſenters for public worſhip, forfeited twenty pounds, and was diſqualified for holding any office for the future; ſo that no perſons in the cuſtoms, exciſe, or common council, &c. could enter the doors of any meeting houſe.

In the laſt year of queen Anne the high church party carried their intolerance ſtill farther by an act which, in order to prevent the increaſe of Diſſenters, ordered that the education of all their children ſhould be put into the hands of full and entire conformiſts, and that if any tutor or ſchoolmaſter ſhould attend any conventicle, he ſhould ſuffer three months impriſonment, and be diſqualified for teaching for the future. This act was to have

taken effect on the 14th of Auguſt A. D. 1714; which was the very day on which the queen died. But George I, convinced of the extreme unreaſonableneſs of theſe acts, which were aimed at the ſteadieſt friends of his family (for at that time, and long after, the clergy in general were in the intereſt of the family of James) procured the repeal of them in the fifth year of his reign, tho' the magiſtrates were ſtill not allowed to carry the badges of their office into a meeting houſe.

Freedom of enquiry was by no means confined to the Diſſenters. In the reign of queen Anne William Whiſton, profeſſor of mathematics in the univerſity of Cambridge, wrote in defence of that doctrine which is generally called *Arianism*, and on that account was deprived of his profeſſorſhip. The convocation alſo cenſured his writings, and would have proceeded againſt him as a heretic, but the queen who either had more good ſenſe, or was better adviſed, refuſed to ſanction their ſentence.

Mr. Whiſton was ſoon followed by Dr. Samuel Clarke, rector of St. James's Weſtminſter, a man of great learning, and of a moſt reſpectable character; but tho' he declined repeating his ſubſcription to the thirty nine articles, he did not leave the church, as Mr. Whiſton did, or reſign his benefice. Following theſe examples, Mr. Pierce,

and

and other eminent Diſſenters, became converts to the Arian doctrine; and in a ſhort time this became the prevailing ſentiment, not only of the more liberal Diſſenters, but of the clergy of the eſtabliſhed church, while the proper unitarians, or Socinians, were very few, and little noticed, at leaſt as ſuch. Dr. Lardner, a moſt learned defender of chriſtianity, was known to be of this claſs, but he publiſhed nothing in defence of his principles till late in life; and even ſo late as the year A. D. 1770, I do not recollect the names of more than about half a dozen diſſenting miniſters who avowed that opinion, and it was not openly eſpouſed by any of the clergy.

Notwithſtanding this, the doctrine of the proper humanity of Chriſt, made its way into the eſtabliſhed church, and a conſiderable number of clergymen, who were known to have entertained that ſentiment, tho' there might have been ſome Arians among them, in A. D. 1772, joined ſome intelligent and liberal minded profeſſors of medicine and law, in a petition to parliament to be releaſed from the obligation to ſubſcribe the thirty nine articles of the church, which at the univerſity of Oxford was required at matriculation, when it could not be ſuppoſed that thoſe who ſubſcribed could have conſidered the ſubject, ſo as to have formed any opinion about the articles

of faith to which they profeſſed to give their conſent. But ſuch was the dread of innovation, and the apprehenſion that a conceſſion in this point, would lead to others, that the application was negatived by a great majority of the members of parliament, ſo that lawyers and phyſicians, educated at the univerſities, are ſtill under an obligation to profeſs the orthodox faith.

One of theſe petitioning clergymen was *Theophilus Lindsey*, then rector of Catterick in Yorkſhire, who, deſpairing of obtaining any relief in this way, reſigned his valuable living, and after ſtruggling with many difficulties, for ſome time, opened a place of unitarian worſhip in London, making uſe of the liturgy of the church of England, as reformed by Dr. Clarke and himſelf. This ſcheme, from the excellent character of the man, met with great encouragement, and drew ſo much attention to the ſubject, that from this time the number of unitarians in England has greatly increaſed; and the trinitarians and Arians among the inquiſitive and learned chriſtians, have proportionably diminiſhed, both in the church, and among the Diſſenters, ſo that of late ſeveral whole congregations have become avowed unitarians, tho' the great majority are ſtill trinitarians.

The controverſy which moſt of all agitated the church of England in this period, beginning in

in the reign of George I, was that which was occaſioned by a diſcourſe of Hoadley, then biſhop of Bangor, thence commonly called the *Bangorian controverſy*, from the ſaying of our Saviour, "My "kingdom is not of this world." He maintained that the clergy ought to have no temporal juriſdiction whatever. This gave great offence to the high clergy, and the great number of publications on both ſides of the queſtion, were the means of throwing much light on the ſubject of the different provinces of church and ſtate; and the cauſe of religious liberty was a gainer by it.

From this time to the death of George II, liberality of ſentiment gained ground among the clergy, eſpecially in the upper ranks, and they were in proportion favourably diſpoſed towards the Diſſenters, who were alſo favoured by the court, while the great bulk of the inferior clergy were generally diſaffected, and friends to the exiled family of the Stuarts. But on the acceſſion of George III, a change ſoon took place, the king receiving into favour thoſe who had been the enemies of his family, but whoſe maxims of government were high, and who had now no expectation from the pretender. On this the clergy in general, being favoured by the court, became advocates for ſuch high maxims of government as they had preached up in the reign of the Stuarts, and the Diſſenters,

as the friends of liberty, were equally frowned upon by church and ſtate, now in as ſtrict alliance as ever.

The averſion to all innovation in matters relating to the church, appeared in A. D. 1772, when a motion in the houſe of commons to quiet the poſſeſſion of the ſubject againſt dormant claims of the church was negatived.

It having been obſerved by ſeveral of the ſpeakers in the houſe againſt the petition of the clergy, that if the Diſſenters, who derived no advantage from their ſubſcription to the doctrinal articles of the church, to which they were made ſubject in the act of toleration, ſhould apply for relief, they would be favourably heard, the hint was taken, and the application being made, it paſſed the houſe of commons; but by the influence of the biſhops, was rejected in the houſe of lords. The ſame being moved for the year following A. D. 1773, its fate was the ſame, being admitted by the commons, and rejected by the lords. At the ſame time a motion being made to aboliſh the ſubſcriptions in the univerſities, it was rejected in both houſes.

In proportion as the Diſſenters loſt ground in court favour in this reign, the Catholics gained it. In A. D. 1778, they were releaſed, by the unanimous vote of both houſes, from ſeveral grievous penalties to which they had been ſubjected in former

mer times, when danger was really apprehended from them. For popiſh prieſts officiating according to their religion were puniſhable with death, papiſts educated abroad forfeited their eſtates to the next Proteſtant heirs, and Catholics could not obtain any legal property by purchaſe.

This favour granted to the Catholics encouraged the Diſſenters in A. D. 1779, to renew their application for relief in the matter of ſubſcription, and in theſe circumſtances the oppoſition to it was inconſiderable. But tho' they were no longer obliged to ſubſcribe to any of the articles of the church of England, they were made liable to be called upon for a declaration of their belief in the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtaments. In fact, however, few had ever been called upon to ſubſcribe, and I never heard of the declaration being required of any perſon.

From this time no farther application was made in favour of the Diſſenters till the year A. D. 1787, when it was thought that the increaſing liberality of the times promiſed a greater extenſion of religious liberty. It was therefore moved in the houſe of commons to repeal the corporation and teſt acts, which excluded Diſſenters from offices of truſt and emolument. But tho' no ſuch excluſive laws exiſted even in Catholic countries, or in any part of the world except in England, the ſovereigns being

being every where elſe at liberty to employ whom they thought proper in public offices, and tho' the motion was ably ſupported, it was rejected by one hundred and ſeventy eight votes againſt one hundred. The ſame motion was repeated in A. D. 1789, and with more appearance of effect; for the votes in favour of the repeal were one hundred and two, and thoſe of the oppoſers only one hundred and twenty two.

Encouraged by this large minority, the Diſſenters imagined that if they exerted themſelves in procuring petitions for the redreſs of their grievances, from all parts of the kingdom, and from Diſſenters of all denominations (becauſe it had been ſaid that only a part of the body, and thoſe the moſt turbulent, were concerned about it) they could not fail to ſucceed, as they had done with reſpect to the buſineſs of ſubſcription. But whether it was on account of theſe meetings to procure petitions, or the dread of innovation in general, from the recent example of France, the clergy formed ſimilar meetings, and by their preaching, writings, and other means, excited a more violent oppoſition than had ever been known before; ſo that tho' the motion was moſt ably ſupported by Mr. Fox, in A. D. 1790, it was rejected by two hundred and ninety four votes againſt one hundred and five.

This

This deciſive majority put an end to all the hopes the Diſſenters had too fondly entertained of any extenſion of their toleration in the preſent reign. *

In this ſame year a large body of the Catholics, with a view to obtain the repeal of ſome very ſevere laws by which they were aggrieved (it being ſtill high treaſon to make converts, and being alſo liable to ſeveral penalties for celebrating maſs, &c. tho' they had

* So much was party ſpirit inflamed by the writings that were publiſhed on this occaſion, that the Diſſenters became the object of more hatred by the friends of the court, than they had ever been ſince the time of queen Anne. It was in conſequence of this that, on the celebration of the French revolution in A. D. 1791, to which the Diſſenters, as the friends of univerſal liberty, were generally favourable, that ſpirit produced the riots in Birmingham, and groſs inſults on the Diſſenters in various other places. This being, to ſay the leaſt, connived at by the miniſtry, made it unſafe for me, tho' I had taken very little of an active part in the application to parliament, to continue in England. But I am thankful to a kind providence for providing me with a ſafe aſylum where I now am. And the difficulties into which the country has been brought by the war with France, by giving all perſons another and a more intereſting object, has contributed to make perſons attend much leſs to religious diſtinctions than before, and thus has greatly abated bigotry and party ſpirit.

had not of a long time been put in execution) made a formal proteſt againſt the temporal power of the pope, and his aſſumed authority to releaſe men from the obligation of oaths, &c. and in conſequence of this the next year the repeal of the obnoxious ſtatutes was obtained without the leaſt difficulty, to the ſatisfaction of all the friends of religious liberty. Still, however, the Catholics remained excluded from both the houſes of parliament.

But, however well diſpoſed the governing powers of the nation were towards the Catholics, nothing could be obtained in favour of the Diſſenters, at leaſt of the unitarians. In A. D. 1792, Mr. Fox moved for a repeal of the ſtatute of William and Mary above mentioned, which eventually makes the declaration of their ſentiments confiſcation of goods, and impriſonment for life, and is therefore a caſe of ſimple toleration. The moſt ſtrenuous oppoſition was made to it, and the motion was rejected, and this was the laſt attempt that has been made in that country in favour of toleration.

In Ireland, however, where formerly it had been thought neceſſary to lay the Catholics under the ſtrongeſt reſtrictions, they this year obtained the valuable privilege of elective franchise, by

which

which they were enabled to vote for members of parliament, and alſo the right of trial by jury; and ſome time before this they had obtained the right of taking apprentices, of teaching ſchool, of marrying with Proteſtants, and of being called to the bar, which ſhews the miſerable ſtate of ſervitude to which they had been reduced.

Theſe conceſſions did not, however, give intire ſatisfaction to the Catholics. They reaſonably wiſhed to have every civil diſqualification under which they laboured removed, and there was an appearance of the miniſtry in England favouring their claims, when Lord Fitzwilliam was made lord lieutenant of Ireland in A. D. 1795. This nobleman was exceedingly popular in the country, and the Catholics expecting every reaſonable indulgence under his adminiſtration, Mr. Grattan brought a bill into the Iriſh parliament for their farther relief. But notwithſtanding the moſt earneſt and repeated recommendation of conciliatory meaſures by this reſpectable governor, in the proſpect of great danger from delay of redreſs, the Engliſh miniſtry very unexpectedly changed their views. Recalling Lord Fitzwilliam, they appointed Lord Camden to ſucceed him, and Mr. Grattan's bill was rejected. This, as was expected, gave great offence and alarm, not only to the

Catholics,

Catholics, but to all the friends of reform and liberty in general; and on this occaſion the *United Iriſhmen* became peculiarly active, and at length raiſed ſuch an oppoſition to the government as had never been known before.

This ſociety was formed in A. D. 1791, and at that time the object of it was a parliamentary reform, and Catholic emancipation, or a reſtoration of the Catholics to all the privileges of other Iriſh ſubjects. Nor does it appear that till this time the members of this ſociety had any thing farther in view. But after the recall of lord Fitzwilliam, the Catholics deſpairing of any favour from government, great numbers of them formed themſelves into bodies more or leſs organized and armed, and were guilty of various exceſſes; and being oppoſed by other bodies of men in the intereſt of government, who called themſelves *Orange Men*, the country came by degrees into a ſtate of civil war, while the United Iriſhmen, proceeding more quietly and ſyſtematically, increaſed their numbers ſo much, that they could bring an army of more than an hundred thouſand men into the field.

In this very year they opened a regular communication with the French directory, having now nothing leſs in view than the ſeparation of Ireland from the kingdom of Great Britain: In their expectation of

aſſiſtance

aſſiſtance from France they were, however, diſappointed, the French troops, that landed in Ireland at different times and places, arriving too late, or in too ſmall numbers, to be of any ſervice to them. And when, without waiting for farther aid, the united Iriſh roſe in open rebellion, there being a want of union in their meaſures, and their ſecrets being betrayed by ſome of their members, they were tho' not without ſome bloody conflicts, finally defeated and ſuppreſſed, after the arrival of lord Cornwallis in the capacity of lord lieutenant in A. D. 1798; he with great judgment joining meaſures of conciliation with thoſe of force. In this conteſt it is computed that more than thirty thouſand loſt their lives; and on both ſides many perſons were put to death in the cruel manner that is too common in civil wars.

Tho' the object of the leaders in this rebellion was entirely political, and no doubt they intended to aboliſh all civil eſtabliſhments of religion, the great maſs of the common people who entered into it, conſidered it as a war of religion, and for the re-eſtabliſhment of the Catholic. They hoped that the heretics, as they called the Proteſtants, who they ſaid had reigned upwards of an hundred years would now be exterminated, and the true Catholic religion eſtabliſhed. Such of the Proteſtants as joined them were obliged to be baptized

in the Romiſh chapels; and even ſeveral of the chieftains were compelled to attend maſs, and at leaſt outwardly to conform to the rites of that religion. *New Annual Regiſter* for A. D. 1798, p. 190.

It is almoſt a certainty, therefore, that had this rebellion terminated as it was intended in a revolution, the political leaders, and their French auxiliaries, would have been diſappointed, from their not being able to controul their bigotted and violent followers; and in many places at leaſt the maſſacre of the Proteſtants could not have been prevented, tho' it might not have iſſued in the final eſtabliſhment of the Catholic religion.

With a view to prevent any ſuch diſturbance as this in future, it was thought adviſable to form an union of the two countries, which hitherto had only had the ſame ſovereign, but different legiſlatures. This meaſure, therefore, which was generally thought to be very hazardous, was purſued, and after ſome oppoſition in the Iriſh parliament, it was in A. D. 1800 acceded to, and ſoon after adopted in England. In conſequence of this a hundred members from Ireland were added to the commons of Great Britain, with a due proportion of Lords to the houſe of Peers, and the whole being united was called *the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland.*

At

At preſent it does not appear that this forced union (for ſuch it evidently is with reſpect to the Iriſh nation in general) gives much ſatisfaction. But neither, it is ſaid, did the union of Scotland with England pleaſe the Scots at firſt, tho' they are now ſenſible of the advantage of it. But the Scots had their own religion confirmed to them; whereas nothing has been done for the Iriſh in this reſpect. Tho' at leaſt two thirds of all the inhabitants are Catholics, all the tythes are given to the clergy of the church of England, and theſe are outnumbered by the Diſſenters in that country. Nor are the Iriſh Catholics eligible into parliament, or to offices of truſt under the government; and while this is the caſe it is more properly ſubjection than union.

SECTION VII.

Of the Methodiſts in England.

THE Methodiſts, who are now a conſiderable ſect of chriſtians in England and North America, had their origin at Oxford in November A. D. 1729, when Mr. John Weſley was a fellow and tutor in Chriſt Church. He ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the ſtrictneſs of the diſcipline to which he trained his pupils; and becoming very ſerious, he formed a ſmall ſociety of perſons of ſimilar views and principles, who met every evening, at firſt to read the claſſics, and on Sundays books on divinity. Then, to make themſelves more uſeful, they viſited the ſick, and the priſoners in the caſtle, and raiſed a fund for their relief. This induſtry and regularity got them the title of the *godly club*, and alſo that of *Methodists*, which they bear to this day. But notwithſtanding this

ridicule,

ridicule, and oppoſition of other kinds, they perſiſted in their pious and benevolent undertaking.

In October A. D. 1735, Mr. Weſley, accompanied by his brother Charles, and Mr. Ingham, went to Georgia, with a view to a miſſion among the native Americans; thinking they had a divine call to labour for their converſion, and Mr. Weſley's firſt preaching without notes was on board their ſhip while it lay in the river. Among the paſſengers were ſome Moravian brethren, of whom Mr. Weſley at that time conceived ſo favourable an opinion, that after ſpending near two years to little purpoſe, as he ſaid, in America, he accompanied ſome of them to Germany. But in the mean time, having entertained ſome enthuſiaſtic notions concerning ſaving faith, and the inſtantaneous communication of it, he imagined that he received this divine influx on the 24th of May A. D. 1738; tho' on the firſt day of that month the firſt ſociety of Methodiſts was formed in London, when about fifty perſons agreed to meet once a week for free converſation, beginning and ending with ſinging and prayer.

In June this year he embarked for Germany, and was introduced to count Zinzendorf on the 4th of July, and after ſpending ſome time at Herrnhut, the principal ſettlement of the Moravian brethren, he there formed the plan of his own ſo-

ciety in England, to which he returned in September A. D. 1738, when he began to preach in public, which he frequently did three or four times a day in different parts of London. He alſo made excurſions into the country; and his ſucceſs was ſo great that he ſoon eſtabliſhed regular ſocieties in different parts of the kingdom, and he perſevered with aſtoniſhing activity and courage, notwithſtanding the greateſt oppoſition of every kind.

A ſimilar courſe had been taken by George Whitfield, who had joined Mr. Weſley's ſociety at Oxford five or ſix years after the formation of it, and for ſome time they ſeem to have acted in concert. But their difference of opinion (Mr. Whitfield being a Predeſtinarian, and Mr. Weſley an Arminian) occaſioned a ſeparation, ſo that their ſocieties had no connection, and their rivalſhip and oppoſition was not always conducted with the temper that becomes chriſtians. But Mr. Weſley's antipathy to the Moravians, to whom he had been ſo much attached, had no bounds. On all occaſions he expreſſed the greateſt abhorrence of their principles and diſcipline, and inveighed in the bittereſt terms againſt count Zinzendorf himſelf.

Mr. Whitfield was the more popular preacher, but his ſocieties were not ſo well connected and organized as thoſe of Mr. Weſley; and on this ac-

count

count the latter promiſes to be more permanent. Mr. Whitfield alſo declined employing lay preachers, and Mr. Weſleys preachers were almoſt altogether of that kind, by which means he gained more upon the common people.

Both theſe kinds of Methodiſts have certainly been the means of a great reformation in the lower orders of the community, promoting ſobriety and induſtry in places notorious for profaneneſs, idleneſs, drunkenneſs, and vices of every kind.

The diſcipline of Mr. Weſley's ſocieties was ſingularly ſtrict. All his preachers were appointed annually; and for this purpoſe Britain and America were divided into circuits, which were regularly viſited by the preachers every month or ſix weeks. They ſeldom paſſed more than a day or two in any place, except the principal town in the diſtrict, where they generally ſpent about a fortnight.

All the preachers had their circuits appointed for them at a meeting of the whole body, called the *conference*, which was held every year at the following places in their turns, viz. London, Briſtol, Leeds, and Mancheſter. Their orders were to preach twice every day; and beſides thoſe preachers there were in all the ſocieties ſtewards for temporal affairs, and leaders of bands. For every ſo-

ciety was divided into claſſes, or bands, which met every week for religious converſation and enquiry into the ſtate of their minds. Of theſe bands there were ſome that were termed *ſelect*, on account of their greater proficiency. Of theſe ſelect bands there were in London only in A. D. 1763, ſix hundred.

Mr. Weſley in his life time could number forty three thouſand members of his ſociety in North America, beſides about eighty itinerants, and a conſiderable number of local preachers. In Europe and America together he had upwards of one hundred and twenty thouſand, including three hundred itinerants, and thirteen or fourteen thouſand local preachers.

For the government of the ſociety after his death, Mr. Weſley transferred the property of all his meeting-houſes to one hundred of his preachers, all named by himſelf; and from this number many of the oldeſt and moſt reſpectable of the preachers were excluded. This was depriving them of their original right of voting in the conferences, and, as might have been foreſeen, gave great offence, and occaſioned the defection of many. Mr. Weſley's great foible was his love of power, and he did not find all his preachers ſo obſequious as he wiſhed.

Mr.

Mr. Weſley injured his ſcheme with rational chriſtians by many extravagant ſingularities. Beſides his belief in ſudden converſion, and miraculous interpoſitions of providence, a favourite doctrine with him, at leaſt for a long time, was that of the *direct witneſs*, or a divine impreſſion upon the mind, aſſuring a perſon of the forgiveneſs of his ſins. When any perſon ſaid that he did not certainly know this, he would bluntly reply, "Then you are "a child of the devil." He alſo maintained the doctrine of the poſſibility of ſinleſs perfection, and held that this ſtate might be attained in a moment, by an act of faith; tho' it is remarkable that, notwithſtanding the ſtreſs that he laid upon it, he never pretended to it himſelf.

He was, however, always fully perſuaded that his miſſion was from God; and that it was in the plan of providence to produce a great reformation by the means of his ſocieties. He always called it *the work of God*, and ſpeaking of the riſe and progreſs of Methodiſm, he ſaid, "it was ſuch an event "as, conſidered in all its circumſtances, had not "been ſeen upon the earth before ſince the time "that John went to Abraham's boſom." Thus making it of more importance than the reformation by Luther.

He obliged the boys educated at a ſchool of his at Kingwood, near Briſtol, to riſe at four, and

never indulged them in any play. He laid the greateſt ſtreſs on abſtaining from every kind of diverſion for grown perſons. He objected to the uſe of tea, and was an advocate for celibacy. eſpecially that of the clergy, and his preachers, till he took a wife himſelf; and he was at one time diſpoſed to inſiſt upon all his diſciples having all their poſſeſſions in common, like the primitive chriſtians. He alſo gave it as his opinion, that if the chriſtians of this day had the ſame degree of faith, they would be endued with a ſimilar power of working miracles; and he was a firm believer in many of the exploded modern ones.

Tho' like other Oxonians, he was a zealous advocate for the church of England, and diſliked Diſſenters, he would not have his places of worſhip conſecrated by biſhops; and tho' he was only a preſbyter himſelf, he ordained biſhops for the miſſion of North America, after the acknowledgment of its independance on England. In this his love of power, which was ever predominant in him, prevailed over his profeſſed principles. See his *Life by Mr. Hampſon*, and his *Original Letters, &c.* publiſhed by me.

SECTION

SECTION VIII.

Of the Eaſtern Churches, and the Lutherans and Moravians in Europe.

THE Greek church has continued to the preſent time in the ſame ſtate in which it was at the cloſe of the laſt period. The want of learning among the Greeks, prevents all controverſy, and all improvement. The Ruſſians have not more learning or knowledge than the other branches of the Greek church, and appear to have no leſs bigotry, by a work of Stephen Javorſki againſt heretics of all denominations. *Moſheim*, Vol. 5, p. 81.

The Monophyſites have ſhewn a laudable zeal for the propagation of their faith, and have gained to their communion ſome of the Neſtorians on the maritime coaſt of India. *Ib.*

The Lutherans during this period have continued in nearly the ſame ſtate in which they were at

at the cloſe of the preceding, tho' ſome encroachments have been made upon them by the Catholic powers, eſpecially in the Palatinate. *Moſheim*, Vol. 5, p. 98.

They have had ſome internal diſturbance by various fanatics, and there have been ſome among them who have ventured, notwithſtanding the reſtraint which their public confeſſion of faith lays them under, to think and write with ſome degree of freedom, ſo as to endeavour to make chriſtianity appear rational. But there have not beeen ſo many of this character as might have been expected from the great extent of the country. All the open Diſſenters from their eſtabliſhment have been of the enthuſiaſtic caſt.

Several attempts to throw light on ſubjects of theology by means of metaphyſics, were made in this period by Leibnitz, Wolf, and their followers, while others took great offence at their labours, and Laurent Smidt, who in his tranſlation of the five books of Moſes, endeavoured to prove that there is no prediction concerning the Meſſiah in them, nor any intimation of the doctrine of the trinity, was in A. D. 1737, apprehended by an imperial edict, and perhaps would not have eſcaped with life, if he had not found the means of getting out of priſon. *Ib.* Vol. 5, p. 88.

There

There have appeared other writers of a liberal caſt in Germany, who have objected to the doctrine of the eternity of future puniſhment, and have contended for the final reſtoration of all intelligent beings to a ſtate of happineſs, but with what ſucceſs I have not been informed.

Some attempts were made by Matthew Pfaft and others in this period, to promote an union of the Lutherans and the reformed, but without any effect. *Ib.* Vol. 5, p. 92.

At the cloſe of the laſt period, we left the *Bohemian Brethren* in a ſtate of total diſperſion, and almoſt annihilation; nor was there any revival of this ſect till the year A. D. 1721, when ſome of their deſcendants, or who pretended to have had ſome relation to them, obtained, by the ſolicitation of one Chriſtian David, a carpenter, permiſſion of Lewis Count Zinzendorf (who in early life had devoted himſelf to the advancement of religion) to ſettle on his eſtates in Upper Luſatia, where on a hill on which no houſe had been built before, they formed a village, and gave it the name of *Herrnhut*, or the *Lord's Hill*. In May A. D. 1724, they laid the foundation of a place of public worſhip, the count being preſent, and joining in a ſolemn act of religion on the occaſion.

At this time he had little knowledge of the Bohemian brethren; and when ſome remains of them

them reſorted to Herrnhut, and talked with pleaſure of their antient diſcipline, he paid little attention to them. As people came to Herrnhut from very different places, and held very different opinions, it was with ſome difficulty that the count brought them to any kind of agreement; which, however, he at length effected, and a form of doctrine and diſcipline was agreed on and ſigned Auguſt 12th, A. D. 1727.

Among other regulations, they formed themſelves into *bands* for exhortation and prayer, keeping the two ſexes ſeparate. *Crantz*, p. 115. At this time they met with *Comenius's hiſtory of the church conſtitution of the Bohemian brethren*, and found it to be eſſentially the ſame with their own; but they had much debating among themſelves whether, in order to avoid calumny and perſecution, they ſhould not lay aſide their particular regulations; but on the whole it was thought moſt adviſable to keep to them, tho' with many variations from their original plan. The count took the office of *Warden*, but from the firſt he frequently repeated the the diſcourſes of the miniſters, and in every other reſpect gave conſtant attention to the affairs of this infant church, as his lady did to the females in it. A number of young women at this time, at the head of whom was one who had the title of *eldreſs of the congregation*, entered into a covenant

covenant to devote themſelves, as they ſaid, to the Lord, and to give no attention to any overtures of marriage, unleſs recommended to them by the elders. And it appears that, in this and every other reſpect, the members of this ſociety pay the greateſt deference to the directions of their chiefs.

This eſtabliſhment at Herrnhut being much talked of, occaſioned many enquiries concerning it from very diſtant places, and in conſequence of theſe perſons were deputed to viſit Denmark, England, and moſt countries of Europe. The firſt of theſe deputations was to Copenhagen in A. D. 1717, and this afterwards gave riſe to the miſſion to Greenland and the Weſt Indies. The count himſelf viſited many of the courts of Germany.

Notwithſtanding the peculiar regulations and diſcipline of this ſociety of chriſtians, they attended the neighbouring Lutheran pariſh church, and received the communion there as members of it; and in A. D. 1728, in order to remove the calumnies that were propagated concerning them, they ſigned a public act declaratory of their approbation of the Augſburgh confeſſion of faith, tho' they adopted a peculiar diſcipline, and that notwithſtanding their reſpect for John Hus, they choſe to take the appellation of *brethren*, rather than that of *Huſſites*; concluding with expreſſing their hope

that

that they ſhould have the protection of the ſovereign of the country, as well as of the territorial lord.

At this time the count himſelf again propoſed the abolition of their particular conſtitution, and an union with the Lutheran church, but it was decided againſt him by a ſolemn lot, drawn by a child of four years of age, and from this time they were determined to hold to their diſcipline as directed by God ſo to do, and alſo that, in purſuance of it, they ſhould preach the goſpel to all the nations of the world. At this time Jablonſki who had been conſecrated biſhop of the antient brethren, and who was then chaplain to the king of Pruſſia, hearing of the proceedings at Herrnhut, expreſſed great ſatisfaction in them, and correſponded with the count, acknowledging that they were worthy deſcendants of the Bohemian brethren; but it is evident that they were not at all under his juriſdiction.

In A. D. 1732, the count reſigned an office which he held in the court of Dreſden, and devoted himſelf entirely to the ſervice of his church, accepting again the charge of Warden, which he had held before, but had reſigned, and ſoon after this he entered as a regular miniſter of the Lutheran church, his orthodoxy being allowed by thoſe who examined him for that purpoſe. The arrival of

of ſo many ſtrangers at Hernhut exciting the jealouſy of the government, they reſolved to ſend colonies to other places, both with a view to extend their principles, and to provide for their increaſing numbers.

From the beginning of this new church there was much enthuſiaſm in it; but from the year A. D. 1734, the count attending more particularly to the doctrine of atonement by the blood, as he ſaid, and wounds of Jeſus, was ſo impreſſed by the conſideration of it, that from this time he made it almoſt the ſole burden of his preaching, and it became that of the ſociety in general. Indeed, their diſcourſes, hymns, and prayers abound with ſo many alluſions to the blood and wounds of Chriſt, and eſpecially that in his ſide, that they are perfectly diſguſting. In their prayers, alſo, they addreſs themſelves to Jeſus only, on the idea of his being both the creator and redeemer of the world, and therefore that we have no immediate intercourſe with any other perſon in the trinity, in which they differ from all other ſects of chriſtians that had preceded them.

The firſt of the Moravian miſſions, by which they have ſo much diſtinguiſhed themſelves, was in A. D. 1732, when two of the brethren ſet out for St. Thomas, an iſland belonging to the Danes in the Weſt Indies; where, being received by ſome

well diſpoſed planters, they preached to their ſlaves, and with conſiderable ſucceſs. The ſecond miſſion was to Greenland, the year following. This for a long time was very unpromiſing, but about A. D. 1740, it began to flouriſh. In A. D. 1734 a colony was ſent to St. Croix, but many died on their arrival there. The year following another colony went to Georgia, accompanied by the two Mr. Weſleys and Mr. Ingham, from England. This colony promiſed well; but the brethren refuſing to take arms in the war with the Spaniards in A. D. 1739, they left the place, and went to Pennſylvania. In A. D. 1735 a colony went to Surinam, but they made no ſettlement there till A. D. 1754.

Hitherto theſe Moravian brethren conducted themſelves as members of the Lutheran church, tho' with particular regulations of their own. But deſpairing of getting ordinations for the perſons who ſhould be ſent on theſe miſſions, and thinking that the adminiſtration of baptiſm would not be valid without it, the count, tho' long averſe to the meaſure, applied to Jablonſki, who joining with Silkovius of Liſſa his colleague, ordained David Nitchman, an active member of their ſociety, giving him power as a biſhop, to hold viſitations, and ordain miniſters.

After ſome difficulty they formed a ſettlement in Holland, which was very uſeful to them, as a place

place where their miſſionaries could furniſh themſelves with every thing neceſſary for their diſtant voyages.

In A. D. 1736 the count, on the complaint of ſome nobleman, was baniſhed from Saxony, and a commiſſion was appointed to examine the ſtate of of Herrnhut; when it appearing that the ſociety there had received the Lutheran confeſſion, and differed from the Lutherans only in ceremonies, they were ſuffered to remain as they were. In this ſtate of exile the count viſited foreign countries, and among others England, where he was well received by archbiſhop Potter, and his church acknowledged to be a true epiſcopal church, its doctrines not differing from the thirty nine articles of the church of England. At Berlin, where the king of Pruſſia ſaw and encouraged him, he received epiſcopal ordination from Jablonſki and Nitchman, and from this time he was uſually ſtiled the *ordinary* of the brethren, and ſoon after this three colonies of the brethren were ſettled in the dominions of this prince.

In A. D. 1754, the brethren inſtituted a college at Barby for teaching divinity, law, medicine, the languages, mathematics, and all the uſeful ſciences. They alſo encouraged their youth to go, after the education they had received here,

to other univerſities, and travel into foreign parts, taking care that they were attended by ſome experienced brother, that their principles might not ſuffer by it. The princeſs of Anhalt Zerbſt, afterwards empreſs of Ruſſia, ſeveral times viſited this college, and expreſſed her approbation of it.

In A. D. 1756 there was a general ſynod of the brethren at Bethel from all parts of Europe, and and ſome from America, when it was reſolved to conſtitute a department for the direction of the church in all its branches, and this was eſtabliſhed the year following.

After ſerving this church thirty years, and devoting all his fortune and his time to it, after ſpending much of his time in travelling to diſtant places, and going more than once to America, count Zinzendorf died at Hernhutt in A. D. 1760, with every appearance of genuine piety, to the great edification of many who were preſent; and his funeral was attended with the greateſt reſpect by perſons of all ranks.

On the death of the count, the buſineſs of the ſociety was carried on by a *board of directors*, and in A. D. 1764, another general ſynod was held at Marienburgh in Wetteravia, when there were preſent eleven biſhops and co-biſhops, and many

other

other officers, with thirty deputies from diſtant congregations. At this meeting they renewed their approbation of the confeſſion of Augſburg, and determined anew that "the doctrine of the "merit of the life and ſufferings of Jeſus, ſhould be "their chief and fundamental knowledge."

Between this ſynod and the next in A. D. 1769, the affairs of theſe brethren flouriſhed greatly, in the extenſion and proſperous ſtate of their miſſions into every part of the world, Europe, Aſia, Africa, and America; being encouraged by the civil powers, on account of their peaceable behaviour, and the benefit they derived from their labours in civilizing their ſubjects.

No denomination of chriſtians, not even the antient heretics, were ever charged with more blaſphemies, abſurdities, and impurities, than the Moravian brethren; and as far as language literally interpreted is any evidence, the charge was in a great meaſure made good from the writings of count Zinzendorf; and yet it would have been abſolutely miraculous if any body of nominal chriſtians could have ſubſiſted in the preſent, or any other age, if thoſe charges in their full extent had been true. Men who evidently lived the lives of the apoſtles, giving all their ſubſtance, and expoſing themſelves to every poſſible hardſhip, and that for

many years, for the ſole purpoſe of propagating what they deemed to be important truth, could never have been guilty of what has been laid to their charge. It may, therefore be concluded, that the accuſation, if true, could only be ſo with reſpect to ſome individuals, and not the ſociety in general; or, if general, that the indecent practices were ſoon laid aſide. As to their mere language, tho' highly offenſive to modeſt ears, it muſt not have appeared ſo to themſelves; and the moſt abſurd opinions, and the moſt enthuſiaſtic language, have no neceſſary connection with vice. Their doctrine of inſtantaneous converſion and others, which certainly have a bad tendency, they only hold in common with many other chriſtians, whoſe morals are in general even rigid.

Their hiſtorian Mr. Crantz, the intelligent writer of the account of Greenland, intimates ſome thing of an apology for his ſociety, when he ſays p. 370, "The chief topics of their diſcourſes being "the blood and wounds of Jeſus, and eſpecially "the wound in his ſide, and their preachers repre- "ſenting believers as playful children, as birds in "the atmoſphere of Jeſus, or as doves flying to his "wounds, as to the cleft of a rock, gave occaſion "to a variety of abuſes and exceſſes in words and "actions, which tho' they did not break out in

"works

"works of the flesh, as some bitter enemies have "pretended, were sinful in the eyes of God. This," he says, "first appeared in A. D. 1746, but was af-"terwards corrected."

SECTION IX.

Of the Progress of Infidelity.

THE most remarkable feature in the character of this period, is the great increase of infidelity in the course of it, and as towards the beginning of it some English writers distinguished themselves the most in this way, it may be worthwhile to give a short account of the more considerable of them, and of the principles advanced by them, which it will be useful to compare with those that are held by unbelievers of the present day.

Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who wrote in the cloſe of the preceding period, held that "there is "one ſupreme God, that he is to be worſhipped, "that piety and virtue are the principal parts of "his worſhip, that God will forgive ſin upon re-"pentance, and that there will be a reward for "good men, and puniſhment for the wicked in a "future ſtate." Theſe he repreſents as "common "notices, inſcribed by God on the minds of all "men," and he undertakes to ſhow that they have been univerſally acknowledged in all nations, ages, and religions. Theſe articles, he ſays, when explained in their full latitude, are ſufficient, ſo that nothing needs be added to them; and he ſays it was the great deſign of chriſtianity, as contained in the ſcriptures, to eſtabliſh theſe principles. He therefore declares it to be far from his intention to do any harm to this beſt of religions, but rather to eſtabliſh it.

Notwithſtanding this, he inveighs without diſtinction againſt all pretences to revelation; but he makes no attempt to refute the evidences of the Jewiſh or chriſtian revelations. And it is not a little extraordinary, that tho' he rejected all other revelations, he pretended to one made to himſelf. For having ſome doubt whether he ought to have publiſhed one of his treatiſes, he ſays that he made a ſolemn prayer, requeſting ſome ſign from heaven

ven if it was proper that he ſhould publiſh it; and he imagined that a voice from heaven, tho' not an articulate one, gave him that ſanction. He ſays he not only heard the voice, but that, in the moſt ſerene ſky that he ever ſaw, he plainly perceived the place from which it proceeded. *Leland's View of Deiſtical writers*, p. 24.

Mr. Blount, the principal author of a treatiſe intitled *The Oracles of Reaſon*, publiſhed in A. D. 1693, advances the ſame general principles with Lord Herbert, expreſſing his faith in the being and providence of God, and a future ſtate. He particularly objects to the writings of Moſes. *Id.* p. 40.

John Toland always profeſſed himſelf a chriſtian, and his firſt publication intitled *Chriſtianity not myſterious*, was deſigned to ſhew that there is nothing in chriſtianity that is either contrary to reaſon, or above it. But in his other works he labours to invalidate the authority of the canon of ſcripture, giving an account of a great number of ſpurious goſpels, and other books, as if they were intitled to as much credit as thoſe contained in the preſent canon. But he has been abundantly refuted by many learned chriſtians, eſpecially by Mr. Jones, who has proved that none of the books excluded from the canon are intitled to any credit, or were ever reſpected by the Catholic church. Beſides

they all aſſert the miracles and reſurrection of Chriſt, and the miracles of the apoſtles, on which the truth of chriſtianity depends.

Lord Shaftſbury is generally claſſed among unbelievers, tho' he frequently ſpeaks with reſpect not only of the doctrine of a wiſe and good providence (obſerving that men were formed for the exerciſe not of virtue only, and of religion, but of chriſtianity alſo) and yet there are many things in his writings which indirectly vilify the ſcriptures and chriſtianity. He particularly reprobates the hope of reward and the fear of puniſhment as motives to virtue.

Mr. Collins, who wrote about the beginning of the laſt century, endeavours, in his *Diſcourſe on free thinking*, to ſhow that there was a general corruption of chriſtianity in the ſixth century; when it was evidently too late to do it any material injury, and he enlarges upon the diviſions among chriſtians, as an evidence of the uncertainty of their principles. In his *Grounds and reaſons of the chriſtian religion*, he maintains that it has no foundation in in the prophecies of the Old Teſtament, but ſays nothing againſt its hiſtorical evidence.

Mr. Woolſton, pretending a zeal for chriſtianity, and the character of Jeſus, and ſetting himſelf up as an advocate for the allegorical ſenſe of ſcripture, endeavours to ſhew the abſurdity of the literal ſenſe,

and

and objects to ſeveral of the miracles of Jeſus and to his reſurrection, but only on the ground of their natural improbability, and not for any deficiency in the hiſtorical evidence.

Mr. Tindal, in his *Chriſtianity as old as the creation*, pretends the greateſt reſpect for the chriſtian religion, and yet he repreſents all revelation as uſeleſs, aſſerting the clearneſs and ſufficiency of the law of nature.

Dr. Morgan, in his *Moral Philoſopher*, does not deny the uſefulneſs of revelation, but ſays we cannot tell when it is given, undervaluing all proofs of it, either from miracles or prophecy; but he ſays nothing to invalidate its hiſtorical evidence. He ſays there is but one infallible mark of divine truth, which is its moral truth, or the reaſon and fitneſs of the thing itſelf, when fairly propoſed to the underſtanding.

The anonymous author of *Chriſtianity not founded on argument*, endeavours to ſhew that its proper foundation is *faith only*, which he attempts to prove from the ſcriptures; where, however, we find a conſtant appeal to rational evidence, and the plaineſt facts.

The author of the *Reſurrection of Jeſus conſidered*, only objects to it on account of the improbability of the thing, and the inconſiſtencies in the different accounts of it, but he does not explain the

the principles on which he could not deny that it was believed, by thoſe who were the only proper judges in the caſe, how they came to live, ſuffer, and die in that belief, and how they were able to draw ſo many others into the ſame belief, and to maintain it at the riſk of every thing dear to them in life, and of life itſelf.

Mr. Chubb began to write as a rational chriſtian, and never expreſsly denied the divine miſſion of Jeſus; but without any examination of the hiſtorical evidence, in his *Poſthumous Works*, he inſinuates many things to its prejudice. He alſo denies a particular providence, and the duty of prayer. With reſpect to a future ſtate, he expreſſes himſelf very variouſly, and with reſpect to the natural probability of a revalation, he ſays that "when men "are ſunk into groſs ignorance and error, and are "greatly vitiated in their affections and actions, "God may, for any thing that we can know to "the contrary, kindly interpoſe by a ſpecial ap-"plication of his power and providence, and reveal "to men ſuch uſeful truths as otherwiſe they would "have been ignorant of, or might not attend to, "and alſo lay before them ſuch rules of life as "they ought to walk by, and likewiſe urge their "obedience to them by proper motives, and there-"by lead them to repentance and reformation." But he adds, "whether this be ſo, and when it is

"ſo,

"ſo, will, in the nature of things, be a matter of "doubt and diſputation." He does not, however, ſay, why we ſhould entertain any doubt with reſpect to the evidence of either the Jewiſh or the chriſtian revelation.

Lord Bolingbroke ſays, but without advancing any proof of his aſſertion, that the Jewiſh books were written at the time of the Babyloniſh captivity, that there is no proof that the goſpels were written in the apoſtolic age, that thoſe we now uſe were not diſtinguiſhed from the ſpurious goſpels, that the chriſtian clergy through whoſe hands the ſcriptures have been tranſmitted to us, were guilty of numberleſs frauds and corruptions, but he does not prove any of theſe random aſſertions. He alſo ſays that the many differences among chriſtians about the ſenſe of ſcripture, ſhew that it is abſolutely uncertain. But he never attempts to account for the riſe and propagation of chriſtianity in the circumſtances that he ſuppoſes.

In his *Poſthumous Works*, he aſſerts the being of a God, but he reduces all his attributes to thoſe of power and wiſdom, denying that we can aſcribe to him either juſtice or benevolence. He ſays that, tho' God made the world, he does not concern himſelf about the affairs of men, or if he do, his providence only reſpects ſocieties, but not indivi-

duals;

duals; that the law of nature, on which our duty is founded, is clear and obvious to all mankind, but that it has been obſcured and perverted by heathen philoſophers and chriſtian divines; that there is no need of any ſupernatural revelation; that the religion of the ſcriptures is unworthy of God; that the goſpels of Chriſt and of Paul were different things; that chriſtianity in its genuine ſimplicity, as taught by Chriſt, is a benevolent inſtitution, and may be regarded as a republication of the law of nature, but that the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments is abſurd.

Mr. Hume while he lived wrote only againſt the credibility of miracles univerſally conſidered, without at all conſidering the evidence produced for thoſe of the Old and New Teſtament, or attempting to account for the belief of them when they were exhibited. But in a poſtumous work he denies not only a future ſtate, but rejects and even ridicules the doctrine of a God and of a providence, treating with the greateſt contempt the conſtitution of the world, and the government of it.

Mr. Gibbon, a ſtill later writer, without denying the truth of chriſtianity, aſcribes its riſe and propagation to the zeal of its adherents, the promiſes of heaven to their followers, the ſtrict diſcipline of their churches, &c. without attempting to

account

account for the faith and zeal of the firſt believers, or how their followers came to be ſo eaſily deceived by them, and to believe their fine promiſes with reſpect to another life, ſo as to make them for the ſake of it abandon all their proſpects in this.

On the continent of Europe no perſon, I believe, was the means of making more unbelievers than Voltaire, who nevertheleſs always profeſſed himſelf a chriſtian, and did ſo even on his death bed. He never, however, entered into any ſerious argument on the ſubject, but indulged himſelf in ridiculing the ſcriptures, which he took no pains to underſtand; ſo that he has fallen into the greateſt miſtakes with reſpect to them. He alſo throws out invectives without bounds on the Jews and their religion, tho' had he been unprejudiced, the ſlighteſt examination would have convinced him, that the religious and civil inſtitutions of the Hebrews were greatly ſuperior to thoſe of any nation of equal antiquity; ſo that, admitting what he perpetually dwells upon, viz. the natural ſtupidity and barbariſm of that nation, their religion muſt have had a ſupernatural origin.

Before the French revolution hardly any perſon in England, or on the continent, avowed himſelf an unbeliever in writing; ſo little diſpoſed were any of them to run any riſk for the ſake of their

principles

principles; but ſince that event, all fear of puniſhment being removed, they write in the moſt undiſguiſed manner. But none of them has as yet undertaken to refute the hiſtorical evidence of the facts on which the Jewiſh and chriſtian revelations are founded, or to account for the riſe and the reception they met with, on the ſuppoſition of the accounts being falſe; and ſome of them have diſcovered the groſſeſt ignorance of every thing relating to the ſubject.

Mr. Freret aſſerted that the firſt believers in chriſtianity were ſuch miſerably poor and abject wretches as are always eaſily impoſed on, and that it owed its principal increaſe to the violence of the chriſtian emperors, and made ſuch other miſtakes with reſpect to facts, as are highly diſgraceful to a man of letters as he was. But ſince his time Mr. Volney, and Mr. Dupuis, queſtion the very exiſtence of Jeſus Chriſt, and maintain that chriſtianity is nothing more than a diſguiſed worſhip of the ſun, and ſupport their opinion with ſuch arguments as a ſchool boy would not believe to be ſerious; and I have ſeen a French pamphlet in which the word *Chretiens* was derived from *Cretans*, as if they were a ſect that had ariſen in Crete. The miſtakes, or miſrepreſentations, of Mr. Boulanger, and the author of *Bon Sens*, are as groſs

almoſt

almoſt as theſe, and thoſe of Mr. Paine (who writes with more confidence and inſolence than any of them) are ſo very abſurd, as to be perfectly laughable, if the ſubject was not too ſerious.

All theſe unbelievers diſcover ſo much rancour and malignity, and with ſo much affected levity on the moſt ſerious of all ſubjects, as muſt convince any calm and unprejudiced perſon that they were incapable of forming a true judgment in the caſe. And yet with thoſe who are previouſly diſpoſed to throw off the reſtraints of religion, the moſt contemptible of their writings have a conſiderable effect.

At the time of the revolution, and for at leaſt twenty years before, the French unbelievers were, with very few exceptions, atheiſts, their ſentiments being contained in the *Syſteme de la nature*, which is intirely atheiſtical; and tho' the national aſſembly have ſince declared their belief in the Supreme Being, and the immortality of the ſoul, it is not probable that ſuch a decree will affect the faith of the thinking and philoſophical part of the nation, and much leſs that of any other; and the hypotheſis of atheiſtical philoſophers to account for the origin of the world, and of man, are, as might be ſuppoſed, exceedingly various and diſcordant. The differences of opinion among chriſtians

on theſe great ſubjects, are mere trifles compared to theirs.

The doctrine of modern unbelievers with reſpect to *morals* is far from being a confirmation of what was ſo confidently advanced by their predeceſſors, concerning the clearneſs and ſufficiency of the light of nature on that important ſubject; for they are diſcordant in the extreme, and many of them ſuch as would have ſhocked Lord Herbert and Lord Shafteſbury almoſt as much as they do chriſtians. For to ſay nothing of the little account the generality of unbelievers make of the vice of ſenſual indulgence of any kind, even the moſt unnatural, the lateſt writers of this claſs exclude gratitude from the rank of virtues, and deny the obligation of promiſes, oaths, and even of the bonds of matrimony, pleading for a community of women; principles which, if acted upon, would ſoon throw the world into the greateſt confuſion, and reduce men to the condition of brute beaſts, and in the end of univerſal hoſtility, tho' they are inconſiſtently advocates for univerſal peace.

Unbelievers ſee nothing immoral in the practice of duelling; and as they are retained in life by nothing but the love of it, when that becomes diſtaſteful, they have no objection to putting an end to it. In ſhort, there is hardly any thing univerſally allowed by them to be a virtue, beſides juſtice,

juſtice between man and man; and as they have no reſpect to a God, a providence, or a future ſtate, the only real motive they can have to enforce the obſervance of this one ſolitary virtue, is a dread of the laws of ſociety. Mr. Volney ſays with reſpect to religion, "The experience of all mankind "proves that morals have no influence on the ac- "tions of men, but ſo far as they are ſeconded by "the civil authority." *Voyage en Syrie et Egypte*, Vol. 2, p. 361.

If this period has produced many unbelievers, it has likewiſe produced many excellent defences of revelation, which have thrown much new light on the ſubject; and as moſt of the objections of unbelievers affect not chriſtianity itſelf, but only ſuch opinions and practices as have been miſtaken for it, eſpecially in the corrupt eſtabliſhments of chriſtianity, they have been the means of diſcovering and rejecting thoſe abuſes, and in conſequence of this, chriſtianity is now much better underſtood than it ever was before. Alſo, this great prevalence of infidelity being a ſtriking fulfilment of the prophecies of ſcripture, which diſtinctly announce that this very circumſtance, will be one of the ſigns of what are there called *the laſt times*, or thoſe which will immediately precede the ſecond coming of Chriſt. This is an event, the moſt momentous

mentous certainly that can be conceived, that we may now be looking for, tho' the exact time of its arrival, our Saviour ſays, was not known to himſelf, but to his Father only.

SECTION X.

Of the State of Religion in the United States of North America.

TO give a ſatisfactory account of the ſtate of religion in the United States of North America, it will be neceſſary to give a ſhort account of their early hiſtory.

The firſt ſettlement, which was that of New-England, was made by a part of the congregation of Mr. John Robinſon, an Independent miniſter who was driven out of England in the reign of James I, and reſided at Leyden. They ſailed for America A. D. 1620, and ſettled at New Plymouth.

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Many others followed them in the reign of Charles I; and never, ſays Mr. Neal, was any country more obliged to any man, than New England was to Laud, who by his cruel and arbitrary proceedings drove many thouſand families out of the kingdom, and thereby ſtocked the plantations with inhabitants in the compaſs of a very few years, which otherwiſe would not have been done in an age. *Hiſtory of New England*, Vol. 1, p. 191.

The ſettlements in New England were made almoſt wholly by Independents, or thoſe who ſoon conformed to their diſcipline; and it is to be lamented that, tho' perſecuted themſelves, they had no juſt idea of toleration, and the rights of conſcience. For as ſoon as Baptiſts and Quakers appeared among them, they treated them with great ſeverity, tho' with reſpect to piety, and irreproachable conduct, they were not inferior to themſelves.

The Baptiſts firſt ſeparated from the Independent churches in A. D. 1651, when ſome of them were committed to priſon, fined, and whipped; and at length a law was made to baniſh them; p. 284.

When by this means they had expelled the Baptiſts in A. D. 1656, the Quakers made their appearance, and met with a ſtill worſe reception. Laws were made to prevent the importation of

them, to baniſh thoſe who came, and even to put to death thoſe who returned from baniſhment. In conſequence of theſe laws three had their ears cut off, and four ſuffered death. But the more they were perſecuted, the more they increaſed. This was chiefly in the ſtate of Maſſachuſets, and not in Connecticut. *Ib.* p. 317. *

Dr. Mather at Boſton preached and wrote againſt this perſecution, and no doubt many others entertained juſter ſentiments of chriſtian liberty; but their remonſtrances did not reſtrain the intemperate zeal of thoſe who were in the government. In A. D. 1669, they bore particularly hard upon both the Baptiſts and the Quakers, and many honeſt perſons, the hiſtorian ſays, were ruined by fines, impriſonment, and baniſhment. *Ib.* p. 313. Tho' a letter was addreſſed to the governors of theſe colonies by the moſt eminent of the diſſenting miniſters in London, to diſſuade them from theſe perſecuting meaſures, it produced no effect. *Ib.* p. 354.

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* Some of the Quakers in New England denied the doctrine of the trinity, ſaying that the doctrine of three perſons in the godhead was introduced by the pope. In the addreſs of the general council to Charles II, they ſay, "they were open ſeducers from the glorious trinity. *Ib.* p. 323, 328.

In a courſe of time, however, in conſequence, no doubt, of their own experience, of a freer intercourſe with other provinces, and other parts of the world, a more liberal ſpirit prevailed. Even the promoters of the perſecution probably lived to repent of what they had done, for I have not been able to find the exact time when all the laws againſt hereſy were repealed. Increaſe Mather, a very learned miniſter at Boſton, had been a promoter of the perſecution, but it is known that before he died he was convinced of the impropriety of it.

At preſent all denominations of chriſtians are tolerated in all the New England ſtates; nor is more favour ſhewn to any one more than to any another. For tho' every perſon is obliged to contribute to the maintenance of religion, the amount of his tax is given to the miniſter of his own choice. Even unitarianiſm has of late made great progreſs in Boſton and its neighbourhood, without exciting any alarm, tho' it is regarded with abhorrence almoſt every where elſe.

The congregational form of the churches in New England is far more favourable to the introduction and propagation of truth, than that of the Preſbyterian or Epiſcopalian. In the former, all of which are independent of each other, improvements of any kind may be introduced without giv-

ing much alarm, none being intereſted in it beſides the miniſter himſelf and his congregation; and if he has gained their affection, and conducts himſelf with prudence, not ſhocking their prejudices unneceſſarily, the introduction of his own ſentiments among them may not be very difficult. But in a church connected with many others, nothing can be done without the concurrence of all; and the reformers being for ſome time a ſmall minority, they are ſure to be borne down by the majority.

Rhode Iſland was ſettled by thoſe who were generally called Antinomians, * on a plan of perfect religious liberty; and by receiving the Anabaptiſts and Quakers, who were not permitted to ſettle in the neighbouring ſtates, it flouriſhed in proportion. In thoſe days Rhode Iſland was by way of reproach called "the drain, or ſink, of New England, and it was ſaid that if any man had loſt his "religion, he might be ſure to find it there." *Belknap's Hiſtory of New Hampſhire*, Vol. 1, p. 89. Thus may the beſt things be turned into ridicule. At preſent the Baptiſts are the prevailing ſect in Rhode Iſland.

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* Theſe had their name from maintaining, or being ſuppoſed to maintain, that the *moral law* was aboliſhed by chriſtianity, in conſequence of ſalvation being now by *faith only*.

I ſhall now proceed to give from *Morſe's Geography* chiefly, ſuch a general account of the ſtate of religion in each of the other ſtates, as my plan admits of, beginning with the moſt northern.

In the ſtate of Maine epiſcopacy was firſt eſtabliſhed; but their churches are now chiefly on the congregational plan, as they are, and always were, in Connecticut, as well as in the New England ſtates in general.

In New York there are no congregationaliſts, but many Preſbyterian churches, as alſo Epiſcopalians, Baptiſts, and other ſects. This part of the country was diſcovered in A. D. 1609, or 1610, by Henry Hudſon, and was by him ſold to the Dutch, from whom it was afterwards conquered.

In New Jerſey (ſettled originally by Dutch emigrants from New York) they are chiefly Preſbyterians, tho' there are in that ſtate many Quakers and Epiſcopalians.

Pennſylvania was granted by James II to William Penn, a Quaker; and being ſettled by perſons of that perſuaſion, there are ſtill a much greater proportion of them there than in any other of the North American ſtates, tho' at preſent they are far from being the majority. This ſtate flouriſhed chiefly in conſequence of an undiſtinguiſhing toleration of religion, at a time when the Northern ſtates were intolerant. At preſent there are in Pennſyl-

ſylvania more denominations of chriſtians than in any other, and yet they all live in perfect harmony. Many large diſtricts of this ſtate are ſettled by Germans, who are ſub-divided with reſpect to religion here as they are in their native country. Here are Lutherans, the Reformed, or Calviniſts, Moravians, Mennoniſts, and Dunkers, * all Germans.

In Delaware, ſettled originally by Dutch and Swedes, the inhabitants are chiefly Preſbyterians, but there are among them many Quakers and Epiſcopalians.

Maryland was granted by Charles I to lord Baltimore, a Catholic, in A. D. 1633, the laws of England at that time bearing hard on thoſe of that perſuaſion, tho' they were favoured by the court; and the Catholics are ſtill the moſt numerous ſect, but there are of almoſt all the others.

Virginia was firſt ſettled, or attempted to be ſettled in A. D. 1610, by zealous members of the church of England; and at firſt they were as intolerant with reſpect to all others, as the New England

* Theſe people in ſentiment come near to the general Baptiſts, and like the Quakers, will neither ſwear nor fight. They will not even go to law. They uſe the greateſt plainneſs of ſpeech and dreſs, the men commonly wearing their beards. Some of them keep the ſeventh day Sabbath. They live nearly all together, and are about two thouſand ſouls.

England ſtates. In particular, there was a heavy penalty on any maſter of a veſſel who ſhould bring a Quaker into that ſtate. After about a century, however, other opinions began to be introduced; and the eſtabliſhed clergy becoming indolent, it is ſaid that, at the commencement of the revolution, two thirds of the inhabitants were Diſſenters, and tho' not legally tolerated they were reſpectable on account of their numbers. At preſent, the eſtabliſhment being aboliſhed, the Preſbyterians are the moſt numerous in the weſtern parts of the ſtate, while the Epiſcopalians occupy the eaſtern parts. But they are mixed with many Baptiſts and Methodiſts.

In North Carolina, which together with South Carolina and Georgia, was granted to the earl of Clarendon and others in A. D. 1662, the Preſbyterians prevail in the weſtern part; but there are many Epiſcopalians in the other parts, as well as Germans, and among them Moravians. The upper parts of South Carolina are chiefly occupied by Preſbyterians, with ſome Independents, Baptiſts, and Methodiſts. But there are alſo Epiſcopalians.

In Georgia, which is but in its infancy, there are almoſt all the principal denominations above mentioned, and in Kentucky, a more recent ſettlement, the Baptiſts are the moſt numerous.

By

By the general conſtitution made for all theſe ſtates, now united under one government, in A. D. 1776, it is declared that "No religious teſt "ſhall ever be required as a qualification to any "office of publie truſt." It is a glorious example that this country is now ſetting to the chriſtian world, ſhewing not only the perfect ſafety, but many poſitive advantages, not only of univerſal toleration, but of the excluſion of any eſtabliſhment of religion whatever, the civil government having no more to do with it than with philoſophy or medicine. Here are Catholics, Epiſcopalians, Preſbyterians, with Seceders of various kinds, from Scotland, Independents, Baptiſts; general and particular, Quakers, Univerſaliſts, Lutherans, Calviniſts, Mennoniſts, Dunkers, Moravians, Methodiſts, Sandemanians, Swedenborgians, Unitarians, and Jews, which are probably more than can be found in any other chriſtian country. And yet they all live, and have intercourſe together, in perfect harmony; and in any common cauſe act heartily together, thoſe whoſe religion forbidding them to fight, paying their quota of expence without complaining. They not only give no diſturbance to the ſtate, but are ready to render to each other every office of good neighbourhood and humanity. At the ſame time there

there is, I believe, as much real religion and chriſtianity in this country as in any in Europe. The majority, as every where elſe, attend more to the forms than the ſubſtance of religion; the wealthy are in general mere worldly minded men, chriſtians in name only, while too many in the loweſt ranks are vicious and profane; but ſo, I fear, they are every where, while many who think themſelves particularly knowing with reſpect to religion, and take the lead in their reſpective ſects, eſpecially the Preſbyterian, are chargeable with bigotry, and ſhew the ſpirit of intolerance without the power. But wherever there is religion, there will be ſome of this character. At the ſame time there are, I believe, in theſe States fewer profeſſed unbelievers than in any other chriſtian country.

SECTION

SECTION XI.

Miſcellaneous Articles.

IN A. D. 1796, a bill was brought into parliament to exempt the Quakers from perſonal impriſonment, on account of the non payment of tythes, and to make their ſolemn aſſeveration equal to an oath in criminal as well as in civil caſes; but tho' it paſſed the houſe of commons, it was negatived by the lords.

2. Another acceſſion was made to the cauſe of religious liberty in conſequence of the revolution in Holland, as well as of that in France. For the Batavian republic, in the proviſional government, without waiting for a conſtitutional law, aboliſhed their national church, and declared in A. D. 1796, that "from that time the ſtate would "not deſray the expence of any mode of worſhip, "or pay any of its miniſters, except granting in-"demnities to thoſe who ſhould ſuffer by that re-"form."

"form." This was aſcribed to the influence of thoſe who held unitarian principles, which had never been tolerated in Holland, and yet had been received by many men of learning, and friends of civil liberty in that country.

3. Having in the ſections appropriated to *miſcellaneous articles* in the preceding periods of this hiſtory, noticed the progreſs that had been made in *general literature* and knowledge, as having a connection with, and being ſubſervient to, the advancement of chriſtian truth; I would obſerve with reſpect to this laſt period, that all that had been done of this kind before does not equal what has been effected in the courſe of it, by the labours of ſtudious and learned men of various nations. For this period contains the great diſcoveries of ſir Iſaac Newton, and thoſe that have followed him in *experimental philoſophy*, including *chemiſtry*, which is now extended in a moſt rapid and extraordinary manner; whereas before this time it hardly deſerved the name of a ſcience. This period likewiſe contains almoſt all that has been done in *electricity* by Dr. Franklin and others, and of late many new and wonderful diſcoveries have been made by Dr. Herſchell and others in *aſtronomy*; and more attention than ever has been given to the application of diſcoveries in philoſophy, to manufactures,

nufactures, and the improvement of the conveniences of common life.

No leſs attention has been given to the ſtudy of the *ſcriptures*; and by this means much new light has been thrown upon them, the evidences of revelation have been much better explained, and its doctrines better underſtood. An account of all the particulars that would fall under this head would require a volume, and therefore I content myſelf with barely noticing them.

4. The condition of the *Jews* continues the ſame as in the preceding period, but they have begun to be more reſpected, and their civil rights attended to, in ſeveral of the nations of Europe. They do not as yet appear to diſtinguiſh themſelves, as they at one time did, by their application to literature, and it has not been in my power, or that of any chriſtians who have addreſſed them on the ſubject, to draw their attention to the evidences of the chriſtian religion; tho' civility on our part has excited their gratitude, and produced a return of civility on theirs; ſo that mutual prejudices are happily much abated with all perſons of liberal minds. Of the Catholics biſhop Gregoire in France has diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the attention that he has given to the caſe of the Jews; and he agrees with many intelligent Proteſtants in the firm

firm belief, and expectation, of their deliverance from their preſent ſtate of diſperſion and perſecution, and their reſtoration to their own country at no very diſtant period; after which no chriſtian can entertain a doubt of their univerſal converſion to chriſtianity.

In England ſuch a clamour was occaſioned in conſequence of an act of parliament to favour the naturalization of the Jews in A. D. 1752, that it was found neceſſary to repeal it the year following; an event highly diſgraceful to that country.

5. Having made but a ſlight mention of *Mr. Emlyn*, among other Engliſh Arians, in the ſixth ſection of this period; a learned friend, who ſaw the M. S. wiſhed to ſee a larger account of him; and at my requeſt drew up the following from his writings, and the *Memoirs of his life by his ſon Mr. Solſom Emlyn*; and as he was the greateſt ſufferer for his principles of late years, I think it well deſerving of a place in this work.

Thomas Emlyn was born at Stamford in Lincolnſhire, May 27, A. D. 1663, of religious parents who frequented the eſtabliſhed church, and were particularly intimate with Dr. Cumberland, then miniſter at Stamford, afterwards biſhop of Peterſborough; but being inclined to the Puritan way, and having obſerved a ſpirit of ſerioufneſs in

and ſobriety to be then more generally prevalent among the non-conformiſts, they choſe to bring up their ſon to the miniſtry among them, altho' the times were ſuch as afforded no encouraging proſpect to thoſe of that denomination.

Mr. Emlyn after being at a boarding ſchool four years was educated at two diſſenting academies, and was once admitted into Emanuel College Cambridge, but returned from it to his firſt diſſenting accademy. He firſt appeared as a preacher, December 19th A. D. 1682, at Mr. Doolittle's meeting-houſe, near Cripple-gate. He then became chaplain to the counteſs of Donegal in A. D. 1683, and accompanied her to Belfaſt in Ireland in A. D. 1684, where ſhe married Sir William Franklin, and lived in great ſtate and ſplendour.

Sir William who had a good eſtate in the weſt of England, offered him a conſiderable living there, if he would have conformed to the eſtabliſhed church; but this he declined, the terms of miniſterial conformity being ſuch as he could not conſcienciouſly comply with, tho' he had not then the ſcruples, which he afterwards had in relation to the article of the trinity: but the principles of an undiſſembling honeſty had taken ſuch deep root in him, that no worldly advantage could prevail with him to violate the peace of his own mind. And yet he was very far from being ſtiff in trifles

fles, or bigotted to any particular party; for on *Sundays* he conſtantly attended the ſervice of the church both parts of the day, and in the evening when he preached in the counteſs's hall, was attended by the miniſter of the pariſh, with whom he lived in great intimacy, and often officiated for him in the pariſh church; for in thoſe days Proteſtants were united, and *brotherly love continued*; and without any ſubſcription, he had from the biſhop of the dioceſe a licence *facultatis exercendæ gratia*; infomuch that it was given out that he had quite left the Diſſenters, and gone over to the church.

While he was in this ſtation he made a journey to Dublin, and when there preached once to that congregation of which Mr. *Daniel Williams* and Mr. *Joſeph Boyse* were then paſtors, in a manner ſo acceptable to the audience, as gave occaſion for that people afterwards to invite him thither. Mr. Emlyn left Ireland in A. D. 1688, having previouſly declined an invitation from Mr. Boyſe to join him in the paſtoral charge of a diſſenting congregation in Dublin, and when in England he refuſed an invitation to a benefice in the eſtabliſhed church from a congregation to which he was very acceptable.

He was after this prevailed upon by Sir Robert Rich, one of the lords of the admiralty, to officiate as a miniſter to a diſſenting congregation at

Looſtoff in Suffolk, for about a year and an half, but refuſed the invitation of being their paſtor. While here he contracted a very cloſe and intimate acquaintance with Mr. William Manning, a very worthy non-conformiſt miniſter at Peaſenhall in that neighbourhood. As they were both of an inquiſitive temper, they frequently conferred together, and jointly examined into the principal points of religion, mutually communicating to each other their reſpective ſentiments; which correſpondence, notwithſtanding the great diſtance they were afterwards ſeparated to, was carried on by letters as long as Mr. Manning lived.

Dr. Sherlock's book of the Vindication of the Trinity coming out about this time, turned their thoughts very much to the conſideration of that ſubject, which the more they examined into, the more they ſaw reaſon firſt to doubt of, and afterwards to differ from, the received doctrine in that article. Mr. *Manning* adopted the Socinian principles, and ſtrove hard to bring Mr. Emlyn into that way of thinking, but Mr. Emlyn could never be brought to doubt either of the pre-exiſtence of our Saviour, as the Logos, or that God created the material world by him.

In September A. D. 1690, Mr. Emlyn received another moſt preſſing invitation from Mr. Boyſe to become his colleague, and he agreed to accept

cept it. In conſequence of this he went over to Dublin in May A. D. 1691, and became a ſettled paſtor along with Mr. Boyſe, to the congregation at Wood-ſtreet there. Here he was a popular and much admired preacher, for he not only had a ſtrong clear voice, and a graceful delivery; but his diſcourſes were for the moſt part very rational and perſuaſive, always concluding with ſomething ſerious and pathetic. He married in A. D. 1694, but loſt his wife in A. D. 1701; and ſoon after this the ſtorm of perſecution fell upon him.

It took its firſt riſe from a perſon of leading influence in the congregation, who had been brought up to the ſtudy of divinity, but afterwards choſe another profeſſion. This perſon from the time of Mr. Emlyn's preaching having ſuſpected that his judgment was againſt the Supreme Deity of the Lord Jeſus, firſt put Mr. Boyſe upon making an enquiry, and afterwards he came himſelf with him to Mr. Emlyn's houſe in June A. D. 1702, deſiring ſeriouſly to know his real ſentiments on the matter. Mr. Emlyn relates his anſwer as follows. "I now thought myſelf bound as a chriſtian, to "declare my faith openly in ſo great a point, and "freely owned myſelf convinced that *the God and* "*Father of Jeſus Chriſt* is alone the Supreme Be- "ing, and ſuperior in excellence and authority to "his ſon (or to that effect) who derives all from

" him. I told them I had no aim to make any " ſtriſe among them, and offered to leave the con- " gregation peaceably, and that they might chuſe " another if they pleaſed in my place. But this " it ſeems would not be permitted."

Mr. Boyſe communicated the affair to the Dublin miniſtry, in conſequence of which conferences took place between them and Mr. Emlyn, unſatisfactory to both. They agreed that ſame day to diſmiſs him, and that he ſhould preach no more. Mr. Emlyn afterwards had a conference with the deacons and chief managers of the church, who teſtified great ſurpriſe and ſorrow. It was determined, however, that he ſhould go to England for a while, that there might be time for farther conſideration how he ſhould act in the caſe. Accordingly, he went to England, and remained there about ten weeks; but in his abſence a loud clamour was raiſed againſt him and his opinions, and that in part from the pulpit. When at London at this time he publiſhed a ſhort account of his caſe.

On his return to Dublin he thought he owed that juſtice to himſelf, and eſpecially to *the truth*, to ſhew what evidence he had from the ſcriptures; and therefore he wrote his *Humble enquiry into the Scripture account of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*. A clear conciſe tract, admirably calculated to produce conviction in candid and unprejudiced minds.

Mr.

Mr. Emlyn intended to have returned to England a few days after it was printed. But in the mean time ſome zealous Diſſenters reſolved to have him proſecuted. By the endeavours of ſome of them, a ſpecial warrant was procured from the lord chief juſtice Pyne to ſeize him and his publication. A part of the impreſſion was actually ſeized, and himſelf obliged to give bail for his appearance. He was indicted for blaſphemy, and after tedious delays on the part of his proſecutors, and their laying aſide two indictments which they had framed againſt him, a third was brought in, and the trial took place June 14th, A. D. 1703, before the court of queen's bench. Six or ſeven biſhops were preſent, of whom the two archbiſhops of Armagh and Dublin took the bench. The indictment was for writing and publiſhing a book, wherein, it ſays, he had blaſphemouſly and maliciouſly aſſerted, *that Jeſus Chriſt was not equal to God the Father, to whom he was ſubject, &c.*

Much partiality and injuſtice appeared in the courſe of the trial, the lord chief juſtice was forward to ſum up the evidence, and would not allow Mr. Emlyn to ſpeak in his own defence, ſaying, *he did not care, ſince he would not ſatisfy him, how he had the books*, which being on his defence he thought he was not bound to do, and

ſtanding up with great anger, he told the jury, *if they acquitted him my lords the biſhops were there*, or words to that effect. The jury in a fright brought in a verdict *guilty*, for which ſome of them were afterwards ſorry when it was too late.

When Mr. Emlyn appeared to have judgment given againſt him, the queen's council moved that he might retract, which he would not conſent to; and ſo the lord chief juſtice paſſed this ſentence on him, viz, to ſuffer *a years impriſonment*, to pay a *thouſand pounds fine* to the queen, to *lie in priſon till paid*; and *to find ſecurity for his good behaviour during life*. And then with a paper on his breaſt he was led round the four courts to be expoſed. Mr. Emlyn's fine was beyond his ability to pay, and therefore upon application being made by Mr. Boyſe, and a Mr. Medlicote, the duke of Ormond gave directions to reduce it to one hundred marks, which was paid. But Dr. Narciſſus Marſh, archbiſhop of Dublin, demanded a ſhilling in the pound of the whole fine, as the queen's almoner; and at length after ſeveral applications he permitted it to be reduced to twenty pounds, which he had the meaneſs to receive from Mr. Emlyn.

This worthy man remained in priſon more than two years, viz. from the 14th of June A. D. 1703, to the 21ſt July A. D. 1705, and upon giving

giving ſecurity, by two bondmen, for good behaviour during life, he was ſet at liberty. "But" (as he adds very properly) "ſtill there remains "another and more righteous judgment, when all "both high and low ſhall ſtand and await the ſen- "tence of the great *judge* and *biſhop* of ſouls, who "will ſurely reverſe all erroneous judgements "here; for *he will render tribulation to them who* "*have troubled others; but to them who are troubled* "*reſt and peace*; and they who have conſcienci- "tiouſly erred will ſurely fare better than thoſe "who have perſecuted them for ſuch error. *For* "*they ſhall have judgment without mercy, who ſhow* "*no mercy.* But I heartily and daily pray, that "this may never be the portion of any who have "injured me; and as I hope the good God will "forgive me if I have erred, ſince he knows it is "with ſincerity, and that I ſuffer for what I take "to be his truth and glory; ſo I alſo hope he will "pardon them, who have perſecuted me only "from a miſtaken zeal; for *they did it ignorantly* "*in unbelief.*"

On his releaſe, July 22, A. D. 1705, he preached an affecting ſermon at the Marſhalſea priſon, from Luke XIII. 29, to ſeveral perſons who were confined there for debt, and were liberated by an act of grace at the ſame time.

Mr. Emlyn was the author of many other controverſial pieces of great merit, beſides that for which he ſuffered, and of a volume of pious and excellent ſermons. The laſt and beſt edition of his works is the fourth, in three volumes octavo, London, 1746. The eminence and excellence of his character and writings are very juſtly deſcribed in the following epitaph inſcribed on his ſtone.

Here lie the Remains
Of the REVEREND MR. THOMAS EMLYN,
Eminent for his great piety and learning,
Strong parts and ſound judgment;
Born at Stamford in Lincolſhire,
MAY 27, A. D. 1663.
HE WAS PASTOR TO A CONGREGATION
Of Proteſtant Diſſenters at Dublin,
Which office he diſcharged during eleven years
With great faithfulneſs, diligence, and applauſe.
But having maintained the ſupreme unequalled
MAJESTY
OF THE ONE GOD AND FATHER OF ALL,
He was, to the ſhame and reproach of a chriſtian
Country,
Perſecuted even to bonds and impriſonment,
And the ſpoiling of his goods;
All which he endured with great patience and
Conſtancy,

With

With ſuch firmneſs and fortitude of mind,
As left no room to doubt his integrity,
And in his writings he ſupported that important
TRUTH
With ſuch ſtrength of reaſon and argument,
As left no room to make a reply.
At length, full of days and ripe for glory,
He departed this life in peace,
JULY 30, 1741.
In joyful hope of a bleſſed reſurrection
TO ETERNAL LIFE.

Of Mr. Emlyn the excellent Mr. Lindſey ſays, (*Apology*, p. 78) "His works will be a laſting monument of his genius, learning, piety and integrity, written in a clear animated ſtyle, equalled by few, exceeded by none in our language, and with ſuch invincible force of argument, as ſtill to promote that truth for which he was not unwilling to ſuffer."

In his *Hiſtorical View*, p. 325, he farther ſays, "I have always reckoned the public proſecution of that learned and excellent perſon for maintaining the cauſe of the divine unity by the Diſſenters,

" Diſſenters, and abetted by the biſhops *in* Ire-
" land, the long impriſonment and hardſhips which
" he endured on that account in the beginning of
" the preſent century, and his bold and well ſup-
" ported teſtimony to that great truth by his va-
" luable publications for a ſeries of years afterwards,
" together with the eſteem and reverence in which
" he was very generally held, to have been among
" the things that made an opening for, and great-
" ly contributed to, that light and freedom in this
" reſpect which we now enjoy."

N. B. A larger account of Mr. Emlyn may be ſeen in the *New and General Biographical Dictionary*, in fifteen volumes 8vo, 1798.

THE

THE CONCLUSION.

I CANNOT conclude this hiſtory without a few obſervations, which I hope the peruſal of it, and alſo that of the *Hiſtory of the Corruptions of Chriſtianity*, will naturally ſuggeſt.

1. It appears at firſt view truly wonderful, that the moſt ſimple of all religions, conſiſting of few doctrines, and thoſe perfectly rational and intelligible, and of few rites, and thoſe as ſimple as can well be imagined, ſhould, with reſpect to both, have been ſo groſsly perverted as it evidently has been. For nothing can well be conceived more abſurd than the doctrines which were, in a courſe of time, received as articles of chriſtian faith by what was called the *catholic church*; nor were any rites more diſfigured by ſuperſtition than thoſe of chriſtian baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper. This departure from ſimplicity and truth will ever be one of the moſt memorable things in the hiſtory of the human mind. And yet, ſtrange as it may appear (when the extremes, things ſo manifeſtly heterogeneous, are contraſted) that

that the one ſhould have ariſen from the other, the hiſtory of the gradual deviation makes every ſtep in the proceſs perfectly intelligible.

This enables us to fill up the great chaſm between the creed of the apoſtles and that which has been aſcribed to Athanaſius; the former containing the doctrine of *one God*, and the latter that of *three ſupreme deities*, and which was ſoon followed by hundreds of ſubordinate ones.

By this means we ſee how a juſt and merciful God, freely pardoning all ſins that are repented of and forſaken, who expreſſes the moſt earneſt deſire that *all would repent and live*, came to be regarded as the moſt unreaſonable of tyrants; not only requiring an infinite ſatisfaction for the ſlighteſt offences, but dooming the greater part of his creatures to everlaſting torments; a cataſtrophe foreſeen, and intended by him before they were born.

Hiſtory ſhews us by what ſteps the rite of baptiſm, originally expreſſive of nothing more than the adoption of a new religion, and a profeſſion of that repentance and reformation which it required, came to be conſidered as actually *of itſelf* waſhing away ſin, and a paſſport for a child to the happineſs of heaven, which without that ceremony would have gone to hell; and how on the partaking of bread and wine merely *in remembrance of Chriſt*

was

was grafted the doctrine of *tranſubſtantiation*, and the complex ceremonies of the maſs.

What an immenſe diſtance there is between a primitive chriſtian miniſter, the *true ſervant of the ſervants of God*, and him who, retaining that title, aſſumed *all power in heaven and earth*; making kings and emperors hold up his train when he walked in proceſſion, and hold his ſtirrups and bridle when he mounted his horſe. How great is the difference between the condition and character of the moſt patient of the *perſecuted*, and the moſt cruel of *perſecutors*, and that not of heathens but of their fellow chriſtians. And yet when we conſider the ſeveral links of the long chain by which theſe extremes were joined, we ſee them all perfectly and naturally connected with each other. Philoſophical ſpeculation, as well as chriſtian charity, is exerciſed by the ſubject, and our aſtoniſhment ceaſes.

2. The recovery of genuine chriſtianity from this deplorably corrupted ſtate to the rational views we now entertain of it, is no leſs extraordinary; and the contemplation of it cannot but impreſs the thoughtful and pious mind with ſentiments of wonder and gratitude. This reſtoration admits, however, of as eaſy an explanation as the various corruptions of it. The ſcriptures, tho' long miſunderſtood, remained, and were open to all

all who wished to study and understand them. The antient state, and gradual progress, of christianity, were always capable of being traced by the sagacious and unprejudiced, if they would attend to the existing monuments of past transactions. Good sense on other subjects that bear some relation to religion gradually prevailed. On the revival of literature light sprung up from various quarters, some the most unexpected; and by laborious and painful investigation, this light was reflected upon christian truth. Thus the treasure that had been long buried was by patient labour dug up again; and one discovery, as in the investigation of natural science, prepared the way for others; divine providence conducting the whole, but without any miracle.

3. Hence we may safely conclude that this natural process, now happily commenced, will proceed till every remaining corruption of christianity be removed, and nothing will be found in it that any unbeliever, any Jew, or Mahometan, can reasonably object to. And since whatever is true and right will finally prevail, that is, when sufficient time has been given to the exhibition of it, rational christianity will, in due time, be the religion of the whole world. In the prophetical language of our Saviour, *he will draw all men unto him.*

Whenever

Whenever freedom of inquiry, and knowledge of other kinds, ſhall prevail in Mahometan countries, the deluſion of that ſyſtem will diſappear, like a fog before the ſun. Then, alſo, will the veil be removed from the minds of the moſt obſtinate and incredulous Jews; tho' probably the perſonal appearance of Jeſus himſelf may be neceſſary, as it was to Paul, to their complete ſatisfaction, and this after their reſtoration to their own country.

5. Let us not, in this intereſting ſpeculation, forget our obligation to ſceptics and unbelievers, for exciting the attention of chriſtians to the manifold abuſes and corruptions of our religion. Without this powerful ſtimulus we ſhould probably have been little farther advanced at preſent than the chriſtian world was in the time of Luther. Their doubts, and even their cenſurable ſarcaſms, inſults and ridicule, have been uſeful ſteps in this proceſs. Let not their conduct, then, excite our ſurprize or indignation. Plain good ſenſe could not but be ſhocked at the appearance which chriſtianity made to them; and nothing but the ſtrongeſt prejudice of education, and the influence of authority, of ſome kind or other, could have rendered chriſtians themſelves blind to ſuch abſurdities.

Much, therefore, may be alleged in excuſe for unbelievers, who had no advantage of religious education to bias their minds in favour of chriſtianity; but none for thoſe chriſtians who, loſing ſight of that ſpirit of meekneſs and forbearance which becomes their character, can wiſh to ſilence objections by authority, or penal laws. Rather, let unbelievers be invited to propoſe all their objections with the moſt perfect freedom. If any thing in our religion be really objectionable, let it not be retained becauſe it is pointed out to us by an enemy; but let us follow truth wherever we can find it.

Let us conſider that unbelievers, by giving us their aſſiſtance, whether willingly or unwillingly, to purge our religion from every thing that is offenſive to right reaſon, are, in fact, preparing the way for their own converſion. Hitherto all their objections have had the happy effect of ſtrengthening the evidences of chriſtianity; ſo that in this progreſs they will have leſs and leſs to object to every day, and conſequently all of them that are truly reaſonable and candid will become chriſtians. And thoſe of them that are prejudiced againſt chriſtianity becauſe it condemns the vices to which they are addicted, who *love darkneſs rather than light becauſe their deeds are evil* (which, no doubt, is the caſe of great numbers) will be reduced to ſilence.

The

The aſſent of the wiſe and good will in time force theirs. Thus becoming at firſt merely ſpeculative, they will at length become practical, believers. When the underſtanding is well formed, the will and affections, tho' refractory for ſome time, will follow at length.

If to this meekneſs and candour towards unbelievers we add the habitual exerciſe of the other chriſtian virtues, we ſhall have done every thing that was in our power to recommend our religion, and may ſafely leave it to the power of truth, and the God of truth; confident, that in due time, the effect of this evidence will not fail to appear. *If our light ſhine before men, they will glorify our Father who is in heaven.*

The proſpect of the improving ſtate of chriſtianity in my own time, and from facts within my own knowledge, is very encouraging. In England till about A. D. 1750, the great body of Diſſenters among whom I was educated, were, with very few exceptions, rigid Calviniſts. A few of the miniſters were of the Arminian perſuaſion, a ſmall proportion of them were Arians, and a much ſmaller ſtill Socinians. Even now the majority are Calviniſts; but the more liberal bear a much greater proportion to them than formerly. There is not a conſiderable town in England in which there is not a reſpectable ſociety of unitarian Diſſenters.

and they are continually increaſing. Many individual members of trinitarian congregations become at firſt more candid, and then unitarians; whereas it is hardly ever known that an unitarian becomes a trinitarian.

It is particularly remarkable that in academies in which young men are educated for the miniſtry among the Calviniſts, where freedom of inquiry cannot be entirely excluded, the more ingenious and inquiſitive of the ſtudents frequently become unitarians, as the opulent ſupporters of thoſe academies lament; ſo that their ſocieties are obliged to content themſelves with lay preachers, or with miniſters who have no great ſhare of learning.

Unitarianiſm has of late made conſiderable progreſs among the Methodiſts, and this without any communication with unitarians of older ſtanding, or the peruſal of their writings, but wholly from the ſtudy of the ſcriptures. There are alſo now many congregations of unitarians in Wales, where much attention was always given to the ſubject of religion.

Notwithſtanding the ſubſcription to the thirty nine articles, required of all who take orders in the church of England, and every other barrier againſt heterodoxy, unitarianiſm has not failed to find its way into their churches. Many young men of a ſe-

rious

rious and inquiſitive turn decline entering into the church, tho' they were educated with a view to it, and ſome have renounced their livings. But many do, by ſome means or other, reconcile to themſelves their continuance in the church with the holding of ſentiments which it reprobates, and this number there is reaſon to think is increaſing. The articles of the church are clearly Calviniſtic, and yet from the time of biſhop Laud a majority of the clergy have been Arminians, and from the time of Dr. Clarke great numbers were Arians. Of this claſs, till of late at leaſt, were the generality of the more learned and elderly of the clergy, as the younger among them are now more generally unitarians.

That unitarianiſm is gaining ground on the continent of Europe, there is abundant evidence. It was ſaid long ago, and it has never been contradicted, that in Geneva, where Servetus was burned for profeſſing unitarianiſm, the miniſters in general are of his opinion. A Lutheran miniſter from Denmark lately told a friend of mine at Paris, that, having travelled through a great part of Germany, and ſeen many miniſters of his denomination, he did not meet with one that was not an unitarian, as he himſelf was. This however, might be true, tho' the majority were trinitarians, as indeed is moſt probable.

Tho' I have not had any particular information concerning the ſtate of opinions among the Proteſtants in France, it can hardly be doubted but that the ſame cauſes muſt have produced the ſame effects among them, in proportion to their means of inquiry, and the opportunity of indulging it. And where miniſters are not confined to ſet forms of prayer as in Scotland, or where on their entrance on the miniſtry, and not afterwards, they only engage not to impugn particular opinions in preaching or writing (as I have been informed is in fact the caſe at Geneva) they may with no great difficulty maintain in private ſentiments which they do not avow in public; but this, being known to their friends, will have its influence. In all theſe caſes the friends of eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments naturally ſay, "*They that are not openly with "us, are againſt us.*"

6. Tho' it may be allowed that no particular form of church government is of divine appointment, and that they all have particular advantages to recommend them, it ſufficiently appears from the whole of this hiſtory, that extenſive eſtabliſhments of any kind are exceedingly unfavourable to reformation; becauſe the concurrence of great numbers muſt be neceſſary to its taking effect. Ideas of improvements of every kind, in ſcience or art, firſt occur to thinking individuals, and their gaining

ing the concurrence of the majority of the body of which they are members may be impoſſible, in whatever degree of eſteem they may be held. In theſe circumſtances the reformer and his friends, ſuppoſing him to have gained ſome, are ſure to be outvoted; and then nothing can be done without a ſeparation or ſchiſm; and few perſons have ſtrength of mind to bear even the opprobrium attached to the idea of a ſchiſmatic, though no more ſerious inconvenience be ſuſtained by reputed hereſy, or ſchiſm. And it has been ſeen that, in general, this crime, as it has ever been deemed by the majority, has been thought deſerving of the ſevereſt civil puniſhment, and often that of death, and in the moſt dreadful forms.

This has always been the caſe in a greater or leſs degree when wealth, or power, muſt be abandoned by the reformers. Worldly minded men will not fail to pretend a zeal for truth, in defence of what they prefer to any truth; and the *bona fide* approvers of the ſyſtem are generally drawn in to concur in the perſecuting meaſures of thoſe who are no bigots.

If this be conſidered, we cannot wonder that the church of Rome, the Lutheran church in Germany, the epiſcopalian church of England, or the Preſbyterian church of Scotland, are at this day what they were at their eſtabliſhment, no articles

in their creed being changed; and that all conſiderable changes in the religion of whole countries have been effected by the civil power. The members of the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments have never reformed themſelves. Many individuals may diſapprove of the ſyſtem, and wiſh for a change, but the majority, educated of courſe in the old way, and having acquired prejudices in its favour, will be averſe to it. We ſee that the great maſs of mankind, and of all nations, are averſe to any material change either in government or religion; and bear many inconveniences rather than hazard a revolution, even far ſhort of a general one. If the younger part of a community ſhould wiſh for it, they are reſtrained by their ſeniors.

On this account the Independent form of church government has, in this reſpect, at leaſt, a great advantage over every other; ſince no particular ſociety has to wait for the concurrence of any other for the purpoſe of making a change in any article of faith or practice; and with proper addreſs of the miniſter, or any other intelligent and leading member of the ſociety, the reſt may be brought to approve and concur in it. At moſt the inconvenience attending a diviſion in a ſingle congregation is inconſiderable.

In conſequence of this ſtate of things, unitarianiſm has got eſtabliſhed, as it may be ſaid, in many

many congregations of Diſſenters in England, all the members of which were not long ago trinitarians; and by the ſame means it has prevailed in many of the Independent congregations of New England. What is of more conſequence ſtill, in this ſtate of things, every perſon acts according to the dictates of his own mind, and is under no temptation to prevaricate in any form or degree.

The caſe is very different from this (which has a near connection with general morality) in large national eſtabliſhments of religion. There are, no doubt, many unitarians in the churches of England and Scotland, and ſome among the Preſbyterians of North America; but they are under the neceſſity of concealing their ſentiments, and of joining in forms of devotion which they muſt regard as nothing leſs than idolatrous; being the worſhip of a creature like themſelves, deſtitute of that omnipotence and omniſcience which alone can conſtitute any being a proper object of chriſtian worſhip. This they cannot do with perfect ſincerity. If they ſilently refuſe their concurrence in what they hear and diſapprove, ſtill their example operates to continue and enforce it.

This is the caſe even with the laity; but that of the clergy, who derive ſome advantage from their ſituation, is much more unfavourable. If they be confined to trinitarian forms of devotion, they

muſt every time they officiate not only profeſs, but in reality act upon the profeſſion, of what they do not believe. If the forms and diſcipline of their churches does not require ſo much as this, but leaves them at liberty to make uſe of their own forms of devotion, they muſt, if they were unitarians when they became members of ſuch churches, be guilty of prevarication at that time; or if not, equity ſeems to require, that whatever emolument, or advantage of any kind, a man acquires by any profeſſion to which he no longer adheres, he ſhould not retain, but openly abandon it; ſo that a perſon ſtrictly conſcientious muſt be greatly diſtreſſed.

It is, however, remarkable and ſhews in a ſtriking light how enſnaring and dangerous ſuch a ſituation is, that the concurrence of numbers in acts of manifeſt inſincerity, will reconcile the minds of many to things at which they would revolt in any other exactly ſimilar caſes. How many are there who, in the moſt ſolemn forms, ſubſcribe to articles of faith which they do not believe, when they would not on any account make a falſe declaration in any other form. This conduct, however, is ſuch as no perſon can juſtify; and all that can be ſaid in excuſe for it is, that it is *doing evil that good may come.* It is doing one bad thing, in order to place a perſon in a ſituation in which it will be

be in his power to do many good things. It makes him an authorized teacher of virtue, and among others that of ſincerity. But how can a man with any effect inculcate that virtue on others which he has not practiced himſelf? And would not more good be done eventually by forbearing to do that thing which is confeſſedly bad, than by any good that he will probably do by means of it?

A ſtrict adherence to what is in itſelf right, without regard to any conſequences, is the beſt rule for men. Nothing can juſtify the doing of any evil that good may come, but a certain knowledge that the good will come, and of its having no connection with any greater evil. The Supreme Being who is omniſcient, as well as omnipotent, may ſafely act, and continually does act, upon this maxim; many evils being introdueed into his government of the world. But he knows that they will certainly lead to good, and no doubt to greater good than would be brought about by any other means; and man muſt not pretend to omniſcience, and adopt ſuch a line of conduct as nothing but the conſciouſneſs of omniſcience will authorize.

7. Diſguſting as the peruſal of a great part of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory muſt be, to every perſon who feels for the honour of chriſtiauity, on account of the unchriſtian ſpirit that was ſhewn by too many of

of its profeſſors, and the factions, animoſities, and perſecuting ſpirit that has been too prevalent among them, we cannot but be pleaſed to ſee, in the perſecuted at leaſt, much of the genuine, the amiable and exalted, ſpirit of chriſtianity; a ſpirit of humility, benevolence, and true piety; of patitience under reproach, and injuries of every kind, an indifference to the things of this world, and the placing of the heart and affections on the things of another. Alſo, tho' the generality of the chriſtian perſecutors were men of no real religion, but were actuated by the very worſt of paſſions, hatred and ambition; and were altogether deſtitute of compaſſion, it may clearly be perceived that ſome of them entered into theſe meaſures with reluctance, being deceived by the falſe maxims that in their time were univerſally prevalent, and thinking that they did God and religion real ſervice by extirminating their enemies. Like Paul, and many of his countrymen, they had *a zeal for God, tho' not according to knowledge.*

For this, no doubt, due allowance will be made in the great day of diſcrimination; when ſome of the perſecutors and perſecuted may embrace as friends. This I hope will be the caſe with Calvin and Servetus, with Cranmer and Rogers, and thoſe whom the good king Edward VI was by them perſuaded to commit to the flames; and perhaps with

with the emperors Trajan and Marcus Antoninus, whoſe ignorance and general good character will plead for them. But I cannot have the ſame charity for ſuch men as Bonner, Gardiner, and Laud, tho' I doubt not there is a courſe of diſcipline prepared by the merciful parent of us all, that will, in due time, bring all men to think and feel as they ought to do.

Some of the martyrs themſelves did not always diſcover a chriſtian temper; tho' it muſt be acknowledged even by unbelievers, if they be ingenuous, that, in general, human nature never appeared to ſo much advantage as in their behaviour; in their ſacrificing every thing dear to them in life, bearing reproach, ſuffering tedious confinement, in loathſome priſons, deſtitute of all the comforts of life, and meeting death in its moſt frightful forms, from an adherence to what they conſidered as the cauſe of truth, and yet without any ill will towards the authors of their ſufferings.

If this be not true magnanimity, and every thing that is great and dignified in the human character, what is ſo? Surely not the ſpirit that carries a man into the field of battle, or that which prompts him to risk his life, or that of his enemy, in ſingle combat, for a point of honour. This is acting from the impulſe of momentary paſſion, and implies

implies no command of temper at all; tho' it is in the control of the appetites and paſſions that the power of reaſon, which diſtinguiſhes men from brutes, is alone conſpicuous.

As theſe virtues of the higheſt claſs always appeared when they were called for, as in time of perſecution, they muſt have exiſted when they were not called for. I doubt not they do ſo among chriſtians at this day, in which perſecution, at leaſt in its moſt prominent feature and form, is not known. Many chriſtians, we may be confident, are now ready to act the part of thoſe of former times, with the ſame alacrity, and the ſame excellent diſpoſition; and their attachment to the things of this life, which naturally gains upon all perſons whoſe attention is not drawn from them by urgent circumſtances, would gradually leſſen, and wholly diſappear, when it ſhould be evident to them that the love of the world and the love of God were in oppoſition to one another; which in the preſent ſtate of things is not ſo apparent; and therefore chriſtians too often deceive themſelves, and engage in worldly purſuits more than they otherwiſe would do.

Many chriſtians, however, tho' not perſecuted to death, are in ſituations in which they ſhew, in trials of a different kind, an energy of mind that would carry them through any trial. And that mode

mode of perſecution in which life is concerned is not that which, with many, requires ſo much real fortitude as ſome others.

I have in my eye ſeveral perſons whoſe chriſtian principles have led them to make ſacrifices to which many of the martyrs would probably have been unequal. In this ſome may be apt to think that I refer to the caſe of ſome Diſſenters in England; and certainly their ſituation has in it, eſpecially of late years, ſomething very humiliating and diſcouraging; and to bear, it, and to behave properly under it, has required ſomething ſuperior to the influence of general eſteem, worldly ambition, or pecuniary advantage. But this I conſider as a trifle compared with the ſtrength of principle which has led ſome to abandon reſpectable and lucrative ſituations, and what is more, to bear the alienation of former friends and connections, together with ſuch privations of a perſonal nature as would have been ſenſibly felt by perſons who, like them, had lived in affluence. To ſuch perſons the greateſt homage is due from all who have a juſt conception of the difficulty of ſuch exertions; and of the ſtrength of mind, and the force of principle, that alone could make men capable of them; as may be inferred from the ſmall number of thoſe who, in the ſame circumſtances, have acted the ſame part.

The

The ſureſt method of deciding concerning the difficulty of any kind of conduct, is not to conſider it, in the firſt inſtance, abſtractedly from what we ſhould imagine to be its nature, but to examine the numbers that have actually adopted it. Now, ſince it is evident from hiſtory, compared with preſent obſervation, that there have been many more perſons who have died martyrs rather than openly renounce their principles, than of thoſe who, without being particularly called upon, have relinquiſhed deſireable ſituations in life, and have quietly ſunk into obſcurity, with the riſk of poverty; it is evident that there muſt be more real difficulty in the latter caſe than in the former, and that it requires ſtronger and purer principles of action. And it only requires attention to ſome pretty obvious conſiderations reſpecting the two caſes to ſee the reaſon of this.

In the caſe of open perſecution, there is generally no choice between death and infamy, which is always, in a greater or leſs degree, attached to every thing that has the appearance of cowardice, or diſſimulation. And openly, in the face of the world, to renounce a man's principles, and to conform to what he is well known inwardly to condemn, is what no perſon can juſtify, tho' out of compaſſion to human infirmity, he may, in ſome meaſure

meaſure excuſe it, as he would do any other inſtance of wrong conduct to which the temptation was peculiarly ſtrong. In this ſituation many perſons, from a ſenſe of ſhame only, without any peculiar ſtrength of religious principle, may be ſuppoſed to prefer death to life.

But when a man is not particularly called upon to act at all, when it is in his power to continue to act as all his acquaintance do, and of courſe to enjoy affluence together with ſufficient reputation; in this ſituation to obey the ſecret call of conſcience only, and againſt the remonſtrances of all his friends and relations to withdraw into obſcurity and poverty, is great indeed. Beſides, by indirectly reproaching others, he is ſure to draw reproach and calumny upon himſelf; and inſtead of being held in general admiration, as the martyrs were, he muſt expect to be ridiculed for his ſingularity, which precludes all ſympathy and compaſſion. In theſe circumſtances to perſiſt in doing what himſelf only will do, is an argument if any thing in human life can be, of *pure principle*, without any mixture of oſtentation, or any other motive improper for a chriſtian to act upon. The more I think of this caſe, the more it excites my admiration, and the leſs do I wonder that ſo few are equal to the conduct proper for it. Let no

perſon who has not himſelf acted this extraordinary part imagine that HE ſhould, or could, have done it. I am far from thinking ſo highly of myſelf, and I am truly thankful that my principles have not been expoſed to ſo great a trial.

ADDITION.

ADDITIONS.

1. SINCE the account of the Catholic confeſſors in Africa, ſpeaking after their tongues were cut out (Vol. 1, p. 48) was printed, I have met with an account of a young woman in Suffolk (recorded in *Martyn's Abridgment of the Philoſophical Tranſactions*, Vol. 9, p. 126) who ſpoke articulately without any tongue at all. It is related by Mr. Boddington of Ipſwich, a Turkey merchant, who ſays he had prevailed upon Mr. Notcutt, "a miniſter, a learned and curious gentle-"man, and Mr. Hammond, who perfectly under-"ſtood anatomy," to accompany him to the place where ſhe lived; and they all atteſt as follows, viz. that ſhe informed them, that when ſhe was four years old, ſhe loſt the greateſt part of her tongue by a cancer; but that when, after a medical application, the remainder of it dropped out ſhe immediately ſaid to her mother' "Do not be fright-"ened. It will grow again." She was then more than twenty years old, and, examining her mouth, they found neither tongue nor uvula; and yet ſhe diſcourſed as fluently as other perſons, tho' ſhe

ſometimes pronounced words ending in *ath* as *at*, *end* as *emb*, and *ad* as *eib*. A more particular account of this extraordinary caſe, and of others of a ſimilar nature, may be ſeen in the place above mentioned.

2. *A note to Vol.* 4. *p.* 189.

Concerning theſe ejected miniſters Mr. Lindſey writes as follows. "Perhaps the nobleſt and "moſt extraordinary ſacrifice that was made to "integrity and religious principle, was that which "exhibited by this claſs of men, whether we con- "ſider the extent of the numbers engaged in it, "the purity of their moral characters, or the emi- "nent talents poſſeſſed by many of them, with the "neceſſary valuable qualifications of all of them in "general for their high and honourable office; "when after the reformation, and particularly in "conſequence of the Bartholomew act of uniformi- "ty, little ſhort of two thouſand goſpel miniſters "gave up their benefices, which to many of them "was all their worldly ſubſiſtence, rather than de- "clare their unfeigned aſſent and conſent to the "liturgy and articles of the church, and conform "to many things which they diſapproved and "condemned."

A

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

EVENTS,

CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL,

AFTER THE FALL OF THE

WESTERN EMPIRE.

A. D.

476 Odoacer king of the Heruli in Italy.
Baſiliſcus recalls Tim. Ælurus and P. Fullo, and anathematizes the council of Chalcedon.

477 Zeno expels Baſiliſcus.

478 A council at Conſtantinople, which condemned P. Fullo.

482 Zeno publiſhes his *henoticon*.
Acacius patriarch of Conſtantinople makes P. Mongus, an Eutychian, patriarch of A-

A. D.

lexandria, and quarrels with the pope.
Huneric, king of Vandals in Africa, begins to perſecute the Catholics.

485 Gontamond puts an end to the perſecution.

493 Theodoric the Goth, king of Italy.

496 Clovis king of the Franks is baptized.

522 The converſion of Zathes king of the Lazi.

529 The publication of the Juſtinian code.
The monaſtery of mount Caſſin founded by Benedict.

533 The publication of the Digeſt.

534 Beliſarius recovers Africa from the Vandals.

536 Rome taken by Beliſarius.

546 Rome taken by Totila.

553 A council at Conſtantinople for the condemnation of the *three chapters.*

554 Narſes puts an end to the reign of the Oſtrogoths in Italy.

560 The converſion of the Suevi from Arianiſm to the catholic faith.

568 The Lombards eſtabliſhed in Italy.

587 Recared, king of the Viſigoths, in Spain, beeomes a catholic.

598 Ethelred king of Kent embraces chriſtianity by the preaching of Auſtin.

622 The

A. D.

622 The commencement of the Mahometan æra, from the flight of Mahomet to Medina.

625 Choſroes king of Perſia obliges his chriſtian ſubjects to embrace Neſtorianiſm.

636 The Saracens take Jeruſalem.

638 They take Antioch and all Syria.

639 Heraclius publiſhes his *ecthesis* in favour of monothelitiſm.

640 The Saracens conquer Egypt.

647 They extend their conqueſts in Africa.

669 They ravage Sicily.

671 Theodore biſhop of Canterbury brings all England to the Romiſh cuſtom of celebrating Eaſter.

680 Monothelitiſm condemned in a council at Conſtantinople.

692 A council ſtyled *in Trullo* for the purpoſe of making canons.

696 All Africa reduced by the Saracens.

713 The Saracens conquer the greateſt part of Spain.

718 Pelagius the Goth choſen king of the Aſturies.

719 The firſt miſſion of Boniface into Germany.

721 The monaſtery of St. Gal in Switzerland founded.

A. D.

739 The Saracens ravage the South of France.

730 Leo Thaurus declares against image worship.

744 The abbey of Fulda in Germany founded.

745 Adalbert and Clement condemned at Rome.

752 The Lombards conquer the exarchate of Ravenna.

754 A council of 338 bishops at Constantinople.

755 Pepin defeats the Lombards, and gives twenty-two cities to the pope.

758 Chrodogand establishes canons regular in his church at Metz.

767 A conference with the Greeks at Gentili, about the addition of *filioque* to the creed.

774 Charlemagne puts an end to the reign of the Lombards, and enlarges the grant of Pepin to the pope.

776 Charlemagne gains great advantages over the Saxons.

785 Elipand archbishop of Toledo advances the doctrine of Jesus being the son of God by adoption only.

787 The second council of Nice, in which the worship of images is established.

794 A council held by Charlemagne at Frankfort, in which the opinion of Elipand and Felix of Urgela is condemned.

800

A. D.

800 Charlemagne made emperor of the Weſt.
809 A council at Aix la Chapelle on the addition of *filioque* to the creed.
820 The Saracens enter Sicily, and take Palermo.
826 Heriold king of Denmark embraces chriſtianity.
829 Vitmar (or Anſcaire) ſent to preach in Sweden.
831 Paſchaſius Radbert writes his treatiſe on the euchariſt.
841 The Normans make deſcents in France.
845 Hincmar made archbiſhop of Rheims.
846 The Saracens advance to the gates of Rome.
848 A council of Mayence for the condemnation of Godeſchalchus.
859 A council of Photius at Conſtantinople againſt Ignatius.
865 Bogoris king of Bulgaria embraces chriſtianity.
866 Many of the Sclavi embrace chriſtianity.
869 A council at Conſtantinople condemns Photius.
872 Chriſtianity introduced into Ruſſia.
877 The Danes make deſcents on Great Britain.
878 Photius reſtored.
884 The Saracens deſtroy the monaſtery of M. Caſſin.

A. D.

910 The monaſtery of Clugni in Burgundy founded.

912 The Normans eſtabliſhed in the North of France under Rollo, who embraces chriſtianity.

965 Miciſlas duke of Poland embraces chriſtianity.

968 Adalbert the firſt archbiſhop of Magdeburg.

969 Dunſtan, being archbiſhop of Canterbury, aſſembles a general council of the nation, on account of the irregularities of the clergy.

993 The canonization of Udalric of Augſburg, by John XV, the firſt of the kind.

1017 Manicheans diſcovered at Orleans.
Canute the Dane king of England.

1018 The Normans enter Italy.

1022 Church muſic improved by Guido.

1029 The death of Fulbert biſhop of Chartres.

1039 The monaſtery of Valambroſe founded by J. Gualbert.

1050 The doctrine of Berenger condemned the firſt time at Rome.

1058 Robert Guiſcard drives the Saracens out of Italy.

1059 Pope Nicolas II makes a treaty with the Normans.

1066 William the Norman conquers England.

1067

A. D.

1067 P. Igneus paſſes through the fire at Florence.

1077 Henry IV ſubmits to Gregory VII. Matilda makes the donation of Florence to the pope.

1084 The Chartreuſe founded by Bruno.

1092 Roſcellin condemned at a council at Compeigne for a metaphyſical explanation of the trinity.

1093 Anſelm made biſhop of Canterbury.

1095 Pope Urban holds a council at Clermont, where the cruſade was firſt publiſhed.

1098 The monaſtery of Citeaux founded by S. Robert.

1099 Jeruſalem taken by the cruſaders.

1106 The monaſtery of Fontevraud founded by Robert d' Arbriſſelles.

1110 Baſilius the Bogomilian burned.

1115 Bernard founds the monaſtery of Clairvaux.

1118 The order of knights Templars inſtituted.

1119 Peter de Bruis preaches againſt the corruption of the church of Rome. His diſciples were called Petrobruſſians.

1121 Abelard cenſured at Soiſſons for his explanation of the doctrine of the trinity.

1124 Norbert oppoſes Tanchelm at Antwerp.

1125 Otho converts many in Pomerania.

D. D.

1142 Arnold of Breſcia preaches againſt the abuſes of the church of Rome.

1146 The publication of the ſecond cruſade.

1147 Alberic of Auſtria ſent againſt the Albigenſes and Henricians.

1151 The canon law compiled by Gratian.

1154 The order of knights of St. John of Jeruſalem inſtituted.

1156 Henry II made king of Ireland by the pope.
The death of Peter the venerable, abbot of Clugni.

1158 The order of Calatrava founded in Spain.

1164 A council at Clarendon, whence aroſe the difference between Henry II and Thomas Becket.

1175 The order of St. James founded in Spain.

1182 Philip Auguſtus baniſhes the Jews from France.

1184 The commencement of the inquiſition.

1187 Jeruſalem taken by Saladin.

1188 The third cruſade.

1191 Acre taken by the cruſaders.

1192 The order of Teutonic knights confirmed.

1202 The fourth cruſade.

1203 The cruſaders take Conſtantinople.

1204 The abbey of Portroyal founded.

A. D.

1208 Peter de Caſtlenau murdered in Languedoc, whence aroſe the war againſt the Albigenſes.

1209 The works of Ariſtotle brought from Conſtantinople.

1210 The order of Franciſcans approved at Rome.

1212 The order of St. Claire (the ſecond order of Franciſcans) inſtituted.

1216 The order of Dominicans founded.

1221 The third order of Franciſcans.

1225 The difference between the pope and the emperor Frederic.

1236 Cordova taken from the Moors.

1248 St. Lewis ſets out on the cruſade.

1250 The college of Sorbonne founded by Robert Sorbon, the chaplain of Lewis.

1255 Chriſtianity makes great progreſs in Pruſſia.

1258 The Tartars take Bagdad, and put an end to the caliphate.

1261 The Greeks retake Conſtantinople.

1265 Thomas Aquinas writes his *Summa*.

1274 The pope holds a council at Lyons, when the multiplication of religious orders was forbidden.

1293 Acre taken from the cruſaders, the laſt place held by them in the Eaſt.

1298 Ottoman the firſt emperor of the Turks.

1300

A. D.

1300 The firſt Jubilee celebrated at Rome.

1306 Philip le Bel expels the Jews from France.

1409 Clement V goes to reſide at Avignon, where the popes continued to the year A. D. 1377.

1310 Rhodes taken by the Hoſpitallers of St. John.

1312 The order of the Templars ſuppreſſed.

1331 The Teutonic knights enter Pruſſia, and ſettle there.

1345 A council at Conſtantinople againſt the errors of G. Palamas.

1347 Rienzi maſter of Rome.

1348 The greateſt plague of which there is any account.

1353 Cardinal Albornos ſent to Italy to recover towns uſurped from the holy ſee.

1377 Gregory XI goes to reſide at Rome. He publiſhes a bull againſt the Wickliffites.

1378 On the election of Urban VI the great ſchiſm commences. Clement VII the anti-pope went to reſide at Avignon.

1387 Chriſtianity received in Lithuania.

1394 Benedict XIII ſucceeds Clement VII at Avignon.

1402 John Hus began to preach in Bohemia.

1407 Lewis duke of Orleans aſſaſſinated by the duke of Burgundy.

A. D.

1409 A council at Piſa on account of the ſchiſm.
1413 Somogitia receives chriſtianity.
1414 The council of Conſtance opened.
1415 John Hus burned at Conſtance.
1416 Jerome of Prague burned there.
1418 The termination of the council of Conſtance, and of the ſchiſm.
2420 Ziſca, the commander of the Huſſites gains ſeveral victories.
1431 A council aſſembles at Baſil.
1434 The Huſſites totally defeated.
1338 The pope opens a council at Ferrara, to oppoſe that at Baſil.
1439 The council removed from Ferrara to Florence. Victor Amadœus made pope by the council of Baſil, and named Felix V.
1444 The pope and his council remove to Rome
1448 The council removes from Baſil to Lyons.
1449 The termination of the ſchiſm by the reſignation of Felix.
The diſcovery of the art of printing by Laurence Coſter of Haarlem.
1453 Mahomet II takes Conſtantinople.
1467 The fouudation of the order of Minims.
1478 A diviſion between the families of Pazzi and the Medici at Florence.
1480 The ſiege of Rhodes defeated by the knights

A. D.

1484 The diſcovery of the kingdom of Congo by the Portugueſe.

1488 The military orders in Spain given to Ferdinand king of Arragon.

1491 Granada taken from the Moors.

1492 The Moors baniſhed from Spain.
Ch. Columbus diſcovers America.

1494 Charles VIII makes an expedition againſt Naples.

1498 Savonorola burned at Florence.

1506 The church of St. Peter begun to be built at Rome.

1508 The league of Cambray againſt Venice.

1511 Julius II beſieges Merindola in perſon.
A council at Piſa againſt the pope.

1512 A council at Lateran by the pope.

1517 M. Luther begins to preach againſt indulgences.

1518 The Concordat between Francis I, and Leo X.

1527 Rome taken by the army of Charles X.

1531 The league of the Proteſtants at Smalcald.
Henry VII made head of the church of England.

1533 The Anabaptiſts excite troubles in Germany.

1540 The inſtitution of the order of Jeſuits.

A. D.

1541 Xavier goes on his miſſion to the Indies.
1542 The council of Trent opened.
1545 A great perſecution of the Waldenſes.
1546 The death of Luther.
1548 Charles V reduces the Proteſtants in Germany, and publiſhes the *Interim*.
1552 Charles V narrowly eſcapes to Inſpruck.
1553 Servetus burned at Geneva.
1559 The peace of Cambray between France, Spain, England, and the empire.
1561 The conference at Paſſy between the Catholics and the Proteſtants.
1562 The beginning of the civil wars in France.
1563 The termination of the council of Trent.
Univerſal liberty of conſcience granted in Poland.
1564 The origin of the prieſts of the oratory by Philip de Neri.
1565 The conferences between the Socinians, and other Reformed in Poland, and their conſequent ſeparation.
1566 The beginning of the war in the Netherlands.
Valentine Gentilis put to death at Berne as an unitarian.
1571 The ſea fight at Lepanto.
The Turks conquer Cyprus.

A. D.

1572 The maſſacre of the Proteſtants in France on the eve of St. Bartholomew.
1579 Fauſtus Socinus arrives in Poland.
1582 The new ſtyle fixed by Gregory XIII.
1586 Mary queen of Scots beheaded.
1588 The Spaniſh armada diſperſed.
1593 Henry IV becomes a catholic.
1598 The edict of Nantes in favour of the Proteſtants.
1599 The council of Diamper in the Eaſt Indies, by Menezez archbiſhop of Goa.
1602 The examination of the book of Molina.
1604 F. Socinus dies in Poland.
1605 The differences between the pope and the Venetians.
1608 A revolt by the Proteſtants againſt Matthias, as king of Hungary.
1610 The final expulſion of the Moors from Spain.
1617 The catholic religion eſtabliſhed in Bern.
1618 The beginning of the troubles in Bohemia. The ſynod of Dort in Holland.
1619 Vanini burned at Thouloufe.
1628 Rochelle taken by Lewis XIII.
1631 The battle of Leipſic gained by Guſtavus Adolphus.
633 Galileo condemned by the inquiſition at Rome.

A. D.

1637 The ſolemn league and covenant in Scotland.

1639 The perſecution of the Catholics in Japan.

1641 The beginning of the diſpute about the tenets of Janſenius, who died in A. D. 1638.

1645 The diſpute between the Dominicans and the Jeſuits about the Chineſe ceremonies.

1648 The peace of Weſtphalia, by which the Proteſtants gained much.

1656 The Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum publiſhed.

1659 The unitarians form a ſettlement at Racow, where they publiſh many works.
The peace of the Pyrennees.

1660 The diſſidents in Poland excluded the ſenate.

1661 The unitarians baniſhed from Poland.

1662 Chriſtians perſecuted in China.

1668 The peace of Aix la Chapelle.

1669 Candia taken by the Turks.

1688 The revolution in England.

1670 Spinoza publiſhes his *Tractatus Theologico Politicus.*

1685 The revocation of the edict of Nantes,

1686 A cruel perſecution of the Vaudois.

1687 The opinions of Molinos condemned at Rome.

D. D.

1688 The perſecution of the chriſtians at Siam.

1706 Frederick IV king of Denmark ſends miſſionaries to India.

1712 The peace of Utrecht.

1713 The bull *Unigenitus* publiſhed by Clement XI.

1725 Pope Benedict XIV appoints a council for the reformation of the church.

1736 The diſſidents in Poland excluded from all public offices.

1767 The government of Milan lays ſeveral reſtraints on the papal power.

The Jeſuits ſuppreſſed in Portugal, and not long after in all other catholic ſtates.

1768 The duke of Parma forbids his ſubjects to appeal to Rome.

The king of France ſeizes Avignon.

1772 The firſt partition of Poland by the empreſs of Ruſſia, the emperor of Germany, and the king of Pruſſia.

1773 The pope conſents to aboliſh the order of Jeſuits.

1774 The inquiſition in Spain deprived of much of its power.

The grand duke of Tuſcany makes many regulations towards ſuppreſſing monaſteries.

1775 The privileges of the diſſidents in Poland reſtored

A. D.

reſtored by the influence of the empreſs of Ruſſia.

The beginning of the American war, which terminated in the independence of the United States.

1782 The emperor Joſeph ſuppreſſes moſt of the religiours orders.

The pope makes a journey to Vienna.

1789 The national aſſembly of France decrees the eſtates of the church to be national property.

1790 The Proteſtants in France have certain privileges granted them.

1791 The revenues of the biſhops reduced in France.

1793 The chriſtian æra aboliſhed, and a new method of computing time introduced. The church eſtabliſhment entirely aboliſhed.

The partition of what remained of Poland.

1798 The papal power aboliſhed, and the Roman republic ſet up. A national council of the catholics in France.

1799 Pius VII ſucceeds Pius VI, and the eccleſiaſtical ſtates, with ſome diminution, reſtored.

1802 The catholics re-eſtabliſhed in France, with privileges to the Lutherans and the Reformed, and a toleration of all other ſects.

The Succession of the Popes and of the Principal Temporal Sovereigns.

POPES.	EASTERN EMPERORS.	KINGS OF ITALY.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
A. D. 649 Martin			
655 Vitalianus		654 Rodvald	654 Childeric II
		659 Aribert	
		662 Gondebert	
		663 Grimoald	
669 Adeodatus	668 Constantine V		
676 Domnus		673 Pertarith	673 Thieri III
678 Agathon			
683 Leo II			
684 Benedict II			
685 John V.			
687 Sergius	685 Justinian II		
		691 Cunibert	690 Clovis III
	694 Leontius		
	697 Apsimarus		695 Childebert III
701 John VI	701 Tiberius		
705 John VIII	704 Justinian II		
708 Constantin			
	711 Philippicus		
714 Gregory II	713 Anastasius II	713 Luitprand	711 Dagobert III
	715 Theodosius III		

A View of the Succession of the Popes, and of the Principal Temporal Sovereigns, from the Fall of the Western Roman Empire, to the Present Time.

POPES.	EASTERN EMPERORS.	KINGS OF ITALY.	VANDALS IN AFRICA.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
A. D. 467 Simplicius				
	474 Zeno			
		476 Odoacer	476 Huneric	
				481 Clovis
483 Felix II				
			484 Gondebald.	
	491 Anastasius			
492 Gelasius				
		493 Theodoric		
			495 Thrasamond	
496 Anastasius II				
498 Symmachus				
				511 Childebert
514 Hormisdas				
	518 Justin			
			522 Hilderic	
523 John				
526 Felix III		526 Athalaric		
	527 Justinian			
530 Boniface II			530 Gilimer	
532 John II				
		534 Thecdatus		
535 Agapetus				
536 Sylverius		536 Vitiges		
540 Vigilius		540 Theodebald		

The SUCCESSION of the POPES and of the PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS.

A. D.	POPES	EASTERN EMPERORS.	KINGS OF ITALY.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
			541 Totila	
555	Pelagius			
559	John III			
				559 Clothaire
			LOMBARDS	562 Gontran
		565 Justin II		
			568 Alboinus	
			572 Cleophis	
573	Benedict			
577	Pelagius II			
		578 Tiberius II		
		582 Mauricius		
			586 Autharis	
590	Gregory		590 Agilulf	
				596 Thiari II
		602 Phocas		
606	Boniface III			
607	Boniface IV			
		610 Heraclius		
614	Deusdedit			
				614 Clothaire II
618	Boniface V		616 Adelwald	
627	Honorius		626 Arivald	
			638 Rotharis	628 Dagobert
639	John IV			638 Sigebert II
641	Theodorus	641 Constantine II		
		642 Constans II		

The Succession of the Popes and of the Principal Temporal Sovereigns.

POPES.	EASTERN EMPERORS.	KINGS OF ITALY.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
A. D. 649 Martin			
		654 Rodvald	654 Childeric II
655 Vitalianus			
		659 Aribert	
		662 Gondebert	
		663 Grimoald	
	668 Constantine V		
669 Adeodatus		673 Pertarith	673 Thieri III
676 Domnus			
678 Agathon			
683 Leo II			
684 Benedict II			
685 John V.	685 Justinian II		
687 Sergius			
			690 Clovis III
		691 Cunibert	
	694 Leontius		695 Childebert III
	697 Apsimarus		
701 John VI	701 Tiberius		
	704 Justinian II		
705 John VIII			
708 Constantin			711 Dagobert III
	711 Philippicus		
	713 Anastasius II	713 Luitprand	
714 Gregory II			
	715 Theodosius III		

The Succession of the Popes and of the Principal Temporal Sovereigns.

A. D.	POPES.	EASTERN EMPERORS	KINGS of ITALY	KINGS of FRANCE.
		717 Leo Isauricus		716 Chilperic II
	731 Gregory III			720 Thieri IV
	741 Zachary	741 Constantine VI		
			744 Rachis	742 Childeric III
	752 Stephen II & III		750 Astulphus	751 Pepin the Little
	757 Paul		756 Desiderius	
	769 Stephen IV			Emperors of the West
	772 Adrian			768 Charlemagne
		775 Leo IV		
		780 Constantine VII		
	795 Leo III			
		797 Irene	Kings of England.	
			800 Egbert	
		802 Nicephorus Log.		
		811 Michael		
		813 Leo Arm.		
	816 Stephen V			814 Lewis Deb.
	817 Pascal			
		891 Michael II		
	824 Eugenius II			
	827 Gregory IV			

The Succession of the Popes and of the Principal Temporal Sovereigns.

A. D.	POPES.	EASTERN EMPERORS	WESTERN EMPERORS	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
		829 Theophilus		838 Ethelwolf	
			840 Lothaire		
		842 Michael III			
	844 Sergius II.				
	847 Leo IV				
	855 Benedict III		855 Lewis II.		
				857 Ethelbald	
	858 Nicolas			860 Ethelbert	
				866 Ethelred	
	867 Adrian II	867 Basilius		872 Alfred	
	872 John VIII		875 Charles the Bald		
			880 Charles Le Gross		
	882 Martin II				
	884 Adrian III				
	885 Stephen VI				
		886 Leo VI			
			888 Arnolph		
	891 Formosus				
	897 Stephen VII				898 Charles the Simple
			900 Lewis III	900 Edward	
	901 John IX				

The SUCCESSION of the POPES and of the PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS.

	POPES	EASTERN EMPERORS.	WESTERN EMPERORS.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
A. D.	905 Benedict IV				
	906 Leo V				
	907 Sergius III				
		912 Constantine IX	912 Conrad		
	913 John X				
			920 Henry		
					923 Rodolf
				925 Athelstan	
	928 Leo VI				
	928 Stephen VIII				
	931 John XI				
	936 Leo VII		936 Otho		936 Lewis IV
	939 Stephen IX				
				941 Edmund	
	943 Martin III				
	946 Agapetus				
				948 Edred	
					954 Lothaire
	955 John XII			955 Edwy	
		959 Romanus II		959 Edgar	
	963 Leo VIII	963 Nicephorus II			
	964 Benedict V				
	965 John XIII				
		969 John Zimisces			
	972 Benedict VI				

The Succession of the Popes and of the Principal Temporal Sovereigns.

A. D.	POPES.	EASTERN EMPERORS.	WESTERN EMPERORS.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
	974 Boniface VII			975 Edward II	
	975 Benedict VII	975 Basilius II Constantine X			
				978 Ethelred II	
	984 John XIV		983 Otho III		
	985 John XV				
					986 Lewis V
					987 Hugh Capet
	996 Gregory V				996 Robert
	999 Silvester *II*				
			1002 Henry II		
	1003 John XVI. XVII				
	1009 Sergius IV				
	1012 Benedict VIII				
				1016 Edmund II	
				1017 Canute	
	1024 John XVIII		1024 Conrad *II*		
		1028 Romanus III			
					1031 Henry
	1034 Benedict IX	1034 Michael IV		1036 Harold	
			1039 Henry III	1039 Hardicnute	
		1041 Michael V		1041 Edward III Con.	
		1042 Constantine XI			
	1044 Gregory VI				
	1045 Clement				

The SUCCESSION of the POPES, and of the PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS.

	POPES.	EASTERN EMPERORS.	WESTERN EMPERORS	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
A. D.	1048 Damasus II				
	1049 Leo IX				
	1054 Victor II	1054 Theodora II			
		1056 Michael VI	1056 Henry IV		
	1057 Stephen X	1057 Isaac Comnenus			
	1059 Nicholas II	1059 Constantine XII			
					1060 Philip
	1061 Alexander *II*				
				1066 Harold. William Con.	
		1068 Romanus IV			
		1071 Michael VII			
	1073 Gregory VII				
		1070 Nicephorus *III*			
		1078 Alexius Comnenus			
	1086 Victor *III*				
				1087 William *II*	
	1088 Urban *II*				
	1099 Pascal *II*				
				1100 Henry	
			1106 Henry V		
					1108 Lewis *IV*
	1118 Gelasius *II*	1118 John Comnenus			
	1119 Calixtus *II*				

The SUCCESSION of the POPES, and of the PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS.

	POPES	EASTERN EMPERORS	WESTERN EMPERORS.	KINGS OF ENGLAND	KINGS OF FRANCE.
A. D.	1130 Innocent II				
				1135 Stephen	
					1137 Lewis VII
			1138 Conrad III		
	1143 Celestine *II*	1443 Manuel Comnenus			
	1144 Lucius *II*				
	1145 Eugenius *III*				
			1152 Frederick Barbarossa		
	1153 Anastasius IV				
	1154 Adrian IV				
				1154 Henry	
	1159 Alexander *III*				
		1180 Alexius II Com.			1180 Philip II Augustus
	1181 Lucius *III*				
		1183 Andronicus Com.			
	1185 Urban *II*	1185 Isaac Angelus			
	1187 Gregory VII				
	1188 Clement *III*				
				1189 Richard	
			1190 Henry VI		
	1191 Celestin *III*				
		1195 Alexius *III*			
	1198 Innocent *III*		1198 Philip		
		LATIN EMPERORS		1199 John	
		1204 Baldwin			

The SUCCESSION of the POPES and of the PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS.

POPES	LATIN EMPERORS.	WESTERN EMPERORS.	KINGS of ENGLAND.	KINGS of FRANCE.
	1106 Henry			
1216 Honorius III		1208 Otho IV		
		1212 Frederic *II*		
	1217 Peter de Courtney		1216 Henry *III*	
	1220 Robert			
				1223 Lewis *VIII*
1227 Gregory *IX*				1226 Lewis IX
	1228 Baldwin II			
1241 Celestine IV				
1243 Innocent IV				
			1250 William	
1254 Alexander IV	GREEKS.			
	1258 John IV Paleologus			
	1259 Michael Pal.			
1261 Urban IV				
1265 Clement IV				
				1270 Philip III
1271 Gregory X			1272 Edward I	
		1273 Rodolph		
1276 Innocent V				
1277 Nicholas III				
1281 Martin IV				

A. D.	POPES.	EASTERN EMPERORS.	WESTERN EMPERORS.	KINGS of ENGLAND.	KINGS of FRANCE.
		1283 Andronicus II			1285 Philip IV Le Bel.
	1285 Honorius IV				
	1288 Nicholas IV		1291 Adodolphus		
	1294 Boniface VIII		1298 Albert		
	1303 Benedict X				
	1305 Clement V.			1307 Edward II	
			1309 Henry VII		
			1314 Lewis IV		1314 Lewis X
	1316 John XX				1316 Philip V
		1320 Andronicus III			1321 Charles IV
				1327 Edward III	
					1328 Philip VI
	1334 Benedict XI				
		1341 John V			
	1342 Clement VI				
			1347 Chartes IV		
	1352 Innocent VI				
	1362 Urban V.				1364 Charles V.
				1377 Richard II	

The SUCCESSION of the POPES and of the PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS.

A. D.	POPES.	EASTERN EMPERORS	WESTERN EMPERORS	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
	1378 Urban VI		1378 Winceslas		
	1389 Boniface IX				1380 Charles VI
		1391 Manuel II			
	1404 Innocent VII				1399 Henry IV
	1406 Gregory XII		1400 Rupert		
	1409 Alexander V				
	1410 John XXI		1410 Sigismund		
	1417 Martin V			1413 Henry V	
		1424 John VI		1422 Henry VI	1422 Charles VII
	1431 Eugene IV		1438 Albert II		
			1440 Frederick III		
	1447 Nicholas V				
		1448 Constantine Paleol.			
	1455 Calixtus III				
	1458 Pius II				
	1464 Paul II			1461 Edward IV	1461 Lewis XI
	1471 Sixtus IV			1483 Richard III	1483 Charles VIII

The SUCCESSION of the POPES and of the PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS.

POPES.	KINGS of SPAIN	WESTERN EMPERORS	KINGS of ENGLAND.	KINGS of FRANCE.
A. D. 1484 Innocent VIII			1485 Henry VII	
1492 Alexander VI		1493 Maximilian		1498 Lewis XII
1503 Pius III Julius II			1509 Henry VIII	
1512 Leo X		1519 Charles V		
1522 Adrian VI 1523 Clement VII 1534 Paul III			1547 Edward VI	1547 Henry II
1550 Julius III			1553 Mary	
1555 Paul IV	1555 Philip II	1558 Ferdinand I	1558 Elizabeth	1559 Francis II 1560 Charles IX
1560 Pius IV		1564 Maximilian II		
1566 Pius V 1572 Gregory XII				1574 Henry III
		1576 Rodolph II		
1585 Sixtus V				1589 Henry V

The SUCCESSION of the POPES and of the PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS.

POPES	KINGS OF SPAIN	WESTERN EMPERORS.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
1590 Gregory XIV 1591 Innocent IX 1592 Clement VIII	1593 Philip *III*		1603 James *I*	
1906 Paul V				1610 Lewis XIII
		1612 Matthias 1619 Ferdinand *II*		
1621 Gregory XV 1623 Urban VIII	1621 Philip IV		1625 Charles *I*	
		1637 Ferdinand *III*		1643 Lewis XIV
1644 Innocent X 1655 Alexander VII		1658 Leopold	1660 Charles *II*	
	1665 Charles II			
1667 Clement IX 1670 Clement X 1676 Innocent XI				
			1685 James II	

The SUCCESSION of the POPES and of the PRINCIPAL TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNS.

A. D.	POPES.	KINGS OF SPAIN.	WESTERN EMPERORS.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
				1702 Anne	
			1705 Joseph I 1711 Charles VI		
				1714 George I	1715 Lewis XV
	1721 Innocent XIII 1724 Benedict XIII			1727 George II	
	1730 Clement XII 1740 Benedict XIV		1741 Charles VII 1745 Francis I		
		1746 Ferdinand VI			
	1758 Clement XIII	1759 Charles III		1760 George III	
			1765 Joseph		
					1774 Lewis XVI
	1769 Clement XIV				
	1775 Pius VI				

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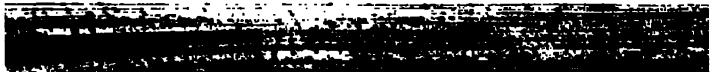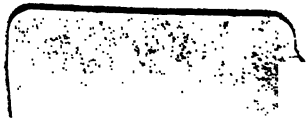
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